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Elizabet

MEMOIRS

OF

ELIZABETH STUART,

QUEEN OF BOHEMIA,

DAUGHTER OF KING JAMES THE FIRST.

INCLUDING

SKETCHES

OF THE

STATE OF SOCIETY IN HOLLAND AND GERMANY,

IN THE 17TH CENTURY.

BY MISS BENGER,

AUTHOR OF MEMOIRS OF ANNE BOLEYN, MEMOIRS OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, &c. &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

It has been suggested by more than one sensible writer, that the life of Elizabeth, the daughter of James the First, presents an inviting subject to the biographic pen. The task has hitherto been unattempted; and, among other singularities in the destiny of this princess, it is not the least extraordinary, that she who, in Germany, had impelled so many Protestant heroes to take the field, should occupy so small a space in the history of their achievements; that the royal lady, for whose smile the chivalry of Britain had emulously contended, should have been doomed, during two-thirds of her existence, to subsist on the bounty of a re-

public; that the best-beloved of the Stuarts, in whose cause alone the Cavalier and the Puritan exchanged the pledge of fellowship, long outlived the enthusiasm she had once inspired, and finally returned to England, only to find her partizans disgraced, and herself in a manner banished from remembrance. These fluctuations in her popularity may be, in part, referred to the extraordinary aspect of the times in which she lived — an age fertile in political revolutions, and not more familiar with examples of romantic heroism, than enamoured of mystery and eccentricity, of subtle schemes and marvellously bold achievements. The critical position of the political parties, in England, contributed also to the diminution of Elizabeth's influence. Originally idolized by the Puritans, she early became an object of jealousy to the ministers of James and Charles the First. During the civil wars, many of those ardent friends were alienated from her interests; and, at the Restoration, she found them

without the ability, or even the inclination to serve her.

It is less difficult to account for these alternations in popular feeling, than to excuse the posthumous neglect which succeeding times have offered to Elizabeth's memory. It is notorious, that volumes have been written to illustrate the descent, or emblazon the achievements, of the House of Brunswick, whilst of the maternal stem, by which alone it aspires to the triple crown of Britain, no memorials are exhibited. This descendant and progenitrix of kings is commemorated only in the epistolary and poetical essays of her contemporaries, as affording an apt illustration of human vicissitudes, and still more rare example of female magnanimity. But, however contemned by the court of Charles the Second, the daughter of James the First was never wholly forgotten by the people. In the absence of authentic memoirs, romantic traditions were multiplied respecting her adventures, to which highly respectable writers have not

scrupled to lend their sanction. By one of these (Pennant), she is said to have accompanied Frederic to Germany, and to have visited the camp of Gustavus; by another (Whitaker), she is stated to have returned to England, in the reign of Charles the First, with the Earl of Craven, which is an equally palpable blunder, since Lord Craven himself was at that time constantly engaged in the Dutch service. A French writer * ascribes to her learning and metaphysics, to which she never aspired. Even the editor of Evelyn's Letters attributes to her a rivalship with Christina, queen of Sweden, the friendship of Descartes, and the correspondence of William Penn. † But, however erroneous may have been the statements respecting Elizabeth's life, her fine qualities have been generally admitted; and, with the excep-

* Vie de Renée Descartes.

† Since writing the above, the author has been favoured with the sight of Mr. Lodge's Portrait of Elizabeth, eminently distinguished by the succinct elegance, the perspicuity, and discrimination which belong to that excellent writer.

tion of one fictitious anecdote*, to which the illustrious Schiller has inadvertently given importance, there is not a single passage in history which reflects not honour on her memory. It is not necessary for her exaltation, to compare the conduct of Elizabeth with that of other female politicians of her day, who mingled in the intrigues of statesmen, or dictated in the councils of kings—of whom some were devoted to party, and others enslaved by faction — the Longuevilles and the Contis, who were animated by love, or the Louisa Sidonias, whose supreme object was the gratification of their ambition. To Elizabeth alone belongs the unequivocal praise, that she was actuated by sentiments of generosity and benevolence, and that even her ambition was

* This anecdote has been borrowed from Larrey, a French writer, who makes Elizabeth say to her consort, "she would rather eat bread and water as a "queen, than fare sumptuously as an electress." The speech is not to be found in contemporary historians; and there is in it a flippancy which Elizabeth never displayed on any other occasion.

ennobled by principles of rectitude, and an immutable love of justice. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the character of this princess has lately received an appropriate tribute from an eloquent female pen, eminently successful in the delineation of high chivalric sentiment. In the novel of Duke Christian of Luneburg, we are presented with an enchanting portrait of Elizabeth, in the golden days of youth, surrounded by all that could lend attraction to female existence. This was precisely the moment adapted to the poet or the novelist, who has not, like the biographer, to measure over the tedious ground which his heroine has traversed; and to whom it is permitted to introduce his personages with that attention to picturesque effect, which can alone delight the imagination. Nor does it deduct from the value of this popular illustration of the royal heroine's character, that it exhibits the splendid embellishments of fiction, since, as might be expected from the efforts of such a pencil, the accomplished

artist has blended in her composition the strength and individuality of historical lineaments, with the more touching graces of poetical expression, and breathed into the plastic forms of the imagination, the glow of nature and truth.

The trials of Elizabeth's life began early and continued late. The battle of Prague was the first, perhaps the most severe, of a series of calamities — such as few individuals have experienced. By that event she was not only precipitated from a throne, but cast upon the kindness of friends, the bounty of kinsmen, the benevolence of strangers. The magnanimity with which she sustained this trial, was but a prelude to the firmness which she displayed during succeeding years of sorrow and calamity, such as, at that moment, she would have pronounced beyond the limits of human endurance. If the battle of Prague dissolved her dreams of glory, the fall of Gustavus destroyed her hopes of greatness; whilst the loss of Frederic annihilated her prospects of happiness. Even then the

cup of bitterness was not full. She was reserved for afflictions which, if not equally intense, were even more overwhelming. It was in suffering the pangs inflicted by filial ingratitude, in reproaching the apostasy of an Edward, or deploring the proscription of a Philip; in mourning over the untimely end of a meritorious son, or the desertion of a favourite daughter, that Elizabeth felt herself utterly bereaved and desolate. — Of such moments the historian takes no cognizance. From such realities the poet recoils with impatience, and even the biographer, touched, perhaps, by painful recollections of ordinary life, hastens to bury them in oblivion.

To retrace a series of disappointments and sufferings would be an unwelcome, almost an invidious task; but that the trials of Elizabeth are intimately connected with certain interesting passages of history, of which a succinct, rather than a satisfactory view, has been hitherto presented to the English reader. The occasional illustrations thus afforded of a period perhaps the

most peculiar of any that has arisen in modern times may, it is hoped, relieve the gloom which must otherwise be too predominant.

It remains to state that the idea of this work was several years ago suggested to the author by the perusal of Harte's Gustavus and Bromley's Royal Letters. * At that time she was little aware of the labour and difficulty inseparable from such an undertaking, or that it would be absolutely necessary to have recourse to books, which are with difficulty to be procured in this country. By a kindness and liberality, for which she has no adequate thanks to offer, she was enabled to refer to Kevenhuller, and other German writers contemporary with Frederic and Elizabeth. Many other important documents are derived from the invaluable treasures of the British Mu-

* In that collection there is, unfortunately, so much confusion with regard to dates, and cyphers, and arrangement, that it is not easy to connect the correspondence, which is otherwise most precious and important.

seum; and although, from the circumstances under which she has been compelled to make her references, it was impossible that she should be able to register the pages to which she has had occasion to refer, she will venture to affirm that authorities are rarely withheld, and that, in general, the particular volume is noted, from whence the quotation is taken. Many inaccuracies must undoubtedly be discovered by an historical reader, if any such should ever honour these pages with perusal; but, as the most intelligent are ever disposed to lenity and indulgence, she has, perhaps, least reason to deprecate severity from those who are most competent to pronounce judgment.

It is proper to observe that in one part of Elizabeth's domestic history, namely, her supposed union with Lord William Craven, the author has been unable to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. Of the marriage, if it ever took place, no document appears to exist; it is unauthenticated by contemporary writers; and is simply one of those popular traditions, of which the existence

may be accounted for by the munificent friendship which Lord Craven displayed to the Palatine family. This nobleman was twelve years younger than the Queen of Bohemia: by him her two elder sons were initiated in the art of war; and it was at the entreaty of their mother that he engaged in a perilous, and to him ruinous service. During many succeeding years his kindness was her best resource; for which, at her death, she evinced her gratitude by bequeathing to him all she had to bestow, namely, her books and pictures. That Elizabeth should have submitted to become the mistress of Lord Craven is a suspicion which the purity of her character repels, and which it would betray the grossest ignorance of the moral and religious state of society in Holland at that period to conceive to be possible. To the marriage itself no legitimate objection could have existed: unequal alliances were not unprecedented, and it was unworthy of Elizabeth's character to conceal the union, if it actually took place. But the question is far less important to

her character than to that of Lord Craven. Regarded as the husband of Elizabeth, he appears eminently amiable ; but as her faithful friend — her generous, disinterested protector — he becomes one of the most interesting personages that history has ever presented, or romance produced.

In the present day such pretensions to generosity and disinterestedness will probably be rejected with contempt by individuals of his own sex. But let it be recollected that Lord Craven lived in a romantic age, that he had been imbued with the spirit of chivalry, that he was contemporary with the generous Christian of Brunswick, and once served under the great Gustavus. If, however, his claims to disinterestedness be contemned by men, let his cause be referred to female judges, to whose honour be it averred, examples of nobleness, generosity, and magnanimity, are ever delightful, because, to their purer and more susceptible souls, they are not incredible.

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MATERNAL DESCENT

OF

ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF BOHEMIA,

Extracted from a Genealogical Table in the possession of W. Upcott, Esq.

Magnus II. Dux Saxoniæ Inferioris, vulgò Lawenburgens, obiit 1593.

Dorothea Ducissa Saxoniæ, Magni II. Ducis Filia, Uxor Christiani III. Daniæ et Norwegiæ Regis, obiit 1571.	Clara Ducissa Saxoniæ, Magni II. Ducis Filia, Uxor Francisci Ducis Luneburgensis in Gifhorn, obiit 1576.
Fredericus II. Rex Daniæ et Norwegiæ, Christiani III. et Dorotheæ Saxoniæ Ducissæ Filius, obiit 1588.	Clara Ducissa nata Luneburgensis, Uxor Bogislaus XIII. Pomeraniæ Ducis, Filia Francisci Ducis Luneburgensis et Claræ Saxoniæ Ducissæ.
Anna Daniæ et Norwegiæ Princeps, Uxor Jacobi I. Magnæ Britanniæ, &c. Regis.	Anna nata Ducissa Pomeraniæ, Uxor Ernesti Croyi, et S. R. Imperii Principis, obiit 1660.
Elizabetha nata Magnæ Britanniæ Princeps, Uxor Friderici Electoris Palatini et Bohemiæ Regis, obiit 1662.	Ernestus Bogislaus Dux Croyi, S. R. Imperii Princeps, natus 1620.

DESCENDANTS

(See Sandford's

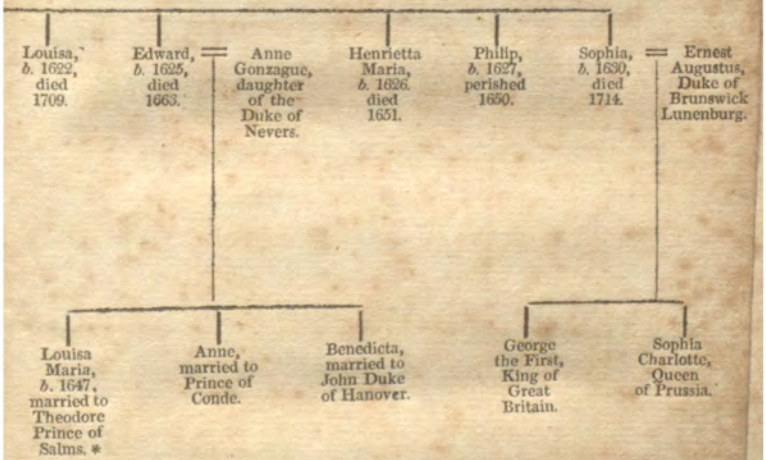
Elizabeth, daughter of James the First, King of Great Britain, and Anne, Princess of Denmark; born Aug. 19. 1596 *, at Stirling Castle. = Frederic V., Elector Palatine.

- Henry Frederic, *b.* 1614, perished 1629.
- Charles Louis, *b.* 1617, died 1680. = Charlotte of Hesse.
  - Charles, Elector Palatine, died 1680.
  - Charlotte Elizabeth, Duchess of Orleans †, died 1707.
- Elizabeth, *b.* 1618, died 1680.
- Rupert, *b.* 1619, died 1682.
- Maurice, *b.* 1620, perished 1653.

* The reader is requested to substitute at page 64. First Volume, 1596 for 1696; and Stirling Castle, for Falkland.

† The mother of the Regent, from whom the present Duke of Orleans is descended.

Genealogical Tables.)


Louisa, b. 1622, died 1709.
Edward, b. 1625, died 1663.
Anne Gonzague, daughter of the Duke of Nevers.
Henrietta Maria, b. 1626. died 1651.
Philip, b. 1627, perished 1650.
Sophia, b. 1630, died 1714.
Ernest Augustus, Duke of Brunswick Lunenburg.
Louisa Maria, b. 1647, married to Theodore Prince of Salms. *
Anne, married to Prince of Conde.
Benedicta, married to John Duke of Hanover.
George the First, King of Great Britain.
Sophia Charlotte, Queen of Prussia.

* The descendants of this lady still flourish.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE PALATINE FAMILY.

THERE are few women who have inspired in their contemporaries so strong an interest as Elizabeth, the daughter of James the First, better known by the appellation of "the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia." Born to experience the vicissitudes of fortune, she was destined also to be the *primum mobile* of the most extraordinary and long protracted war that had ever arisen in Modern Europe; but of which the results were no less salutary than the origin had been calamitous. If the German matrons had cause to mourn for those hostilities which the ambition or enthusiasm of the British princess

had kindled, their sons might rejoice in the religious freedom and toleration which were thus nobly purchased for themselves and their children.

As the history of Elizabeth's life is indissolubly connected with that of her wedded consort, it appears necessary to prefix a brief account, of the family into which she was by marriage transplanted, and which has since given a new dynasty to the British throne.

The Palatine princes gloried in a descent which, if certain courtly antiquaries might be credited, was derived from a royal stock that flourished in Bavaria three hundred years before the era of Charlemagne.* By modern historians those extraordinary

* (See the extract from Stowe at the end of the volume.) The more accurate Shannat, in his Histoire Abrégée de la Maison Palatine, traces the descent to a family that flourished under the Carlovingian princes. "It would argue extreme ignorance of history," says Spanheim, in his Mémoires de l'Electrice Louise Juliane, "not to know that the Palatine House is one of the most antient and honourable in Europe."

pretensions have been reduced to a dynasty that took its rise under the Carlovingian kings, whose authority and title were derived from the hereditary office of the Count Palatine Comptroller, or Seneschal of the royal household. In the ninth century, this officer was transferred to the provinces bordering on the Rhine, which, by the annexation of other contiguous lands, insensibly formed an extensive and flourishing principality. Leaving the remote origin of the Palatine House to the antiquarian whom it may interest, it is incontestable that the Counts Palatine of the Rhine were dependent on the Emperor alone, and disclaimed any intermediate authority; but it is no less true, that, from domestic functions attached to the court of Charlemagne, originated the personal and royal prerogatives afterwards assumed by those princes in the empire.

The first dynasty ended in Herman, a count of Scheyren*, who having incurred the dis-

* The sepulchres of the Counts of Scheyren attested the antiquity of their family. In those vaults

pleasure of the Emperor Frederick the First, was not only deprived of his estates, but condemned to carry dogs on his shoulders, an ignominy which he avoided by withdrawing to a monastery, where he soon died of grief. After his disgrace, the Palatinate was transferred to Conrad, of the house of Suabia; from thence by marriage to a prince of Saxony. At length, in 1128, the Upper and Lower Palatinate were united in the person of Otho of Wittelspach, Duke of Bavaria, generally considered the founder of the Palatine House, or at least the author of its prosperity. To this prince also, whose character was equally marked by energy and ungoverned passion, is traced the rise of that long-standing rivalry between the Bavarian Dukes, and the lords of the Palatinate; yet so little of a political calculator was this valiant chief, that, by his testamentary dispositions, he sapped the in-

reposed the ashes of sixty ancestors of the unfortunate Herman.—(Shannat's Histoire Abrégée de la Maison Palatine.)

tegrality of his dominions. Otho was thrice married; nor did the tragical end of his second wife, whom he killed in a paroxysm of jealousy, prevent his obtaining the hand of Matilda, the sister of the Emperor Rodolphus, in compliment to whose rank, before his sons had arrived at maturity, he admitted them to a participation in his authority; a pernicious precedent, subsequently supposed to authorise a partition of the principality,—Rodolphus the elder succeeding to the Palatinate, to which was annexed the electoral privilege; Louis the younger took possession of Bavaria, and soon after became a successful candidate for the Imperial diadem, in opposition to another prince, to whom his brother had previously given his suffrage. Having triumphed over his rival, Louis revenged the affront he had received from Rodolphus by putting him to the ban of the empire, and entailing banishment and degradation on his posterity.

In this extremity, the unfortunate Pals

grave had no alternative but to flee to England, his wife's native country, where he long languished in neglect, and died at length in poverty. After his decease, his mother, Matilda, privately invited his children to return to Germany; and, by her mediation, during a season of festivity, when Louis kept wassail in the Castle of Heidelberg, the family of his brother suddenly presented themselves before him, in the garb of suppliants, imploring pity and forgiveness. To this appeal the victor softened, and not only consented to revoke the ban, but invested his eldest nephew with the Upper and Lower Palatinate, to which he superadded the electoral dignity; not, however, without annexing to the grant a condition, afterwards the source of mischievous dissensions—namely, that the electoral privilege should be alternately exercised by the Bavarian princes, and the Counts Palatine. In subsequent arrangements, some disputes having arisen between the descendants of Rodolphus, Count Robert, the

rightful heir, with a generosity of which history offers few examples, voluntarily abdicated in favor of a younger brother; even this disinterestedness prevented not domestic discord—and at one period there were four princes who alternately aspired to supremacy in the province.* It was, however, reserved for the son of that virtuous Robert, to re-unite these opposing claims in his own person; and, being the most enlightened individual of his race, or perhaps of his country, he cultivated letters, invited to his court learned men, and munificently founded, on the model of the University of Paris, the College of Heidelberg.† Finally, to prevent any future dismember-

* Of the Upper Palatinate the principal place was Amberg. In the Lower Palatinate were many flourishing towns: Frankenthal, strongly fortified; Mansheim, Oppenheim. According to Stowe, the whole country comprehended a tract two hundred miles in length.

† The professors were for theology, medicine, jurisprudence, and philosophy. The university of Prague was founded in the same century.

ment of the Palatinate, he procured an Imperial decree, which limited to one prince the possession of sovereign authority. After a long and prosperous life, Robert was buried in the church of Neustadt; and his successor, not less enlightened than himself, ascended the Imperial throne in place of Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, who in the year 1400 had been solemnly deposed.

Robert justified the electoral suffrage by his valour, and the prudence that directed his conduct. According to the custom of that age, he journeyed to Italy to be crowned by the Pope, who, by a preposterous fiction, still assumed the right of conferring the Roman sceptre, though of the Roman empire nothing remained but the name, and certain classical superstitions traditionally transmitted to the people. The peaceful reign of Robert soon terminated. His son Louis rivalled his military skill, without possessing his intellectual accomplishments; and having been disappointed in his views of succeeding to the empire,

made a crusade to Palestine, from whence he returned, inflated with zeal and bigotry, to preside at the Council of Constance, which passed sentence of death on those martyrs to religious freedom, John Huss and Jerome of Prague.

It is worthy of remark, that the college of Prague, nearly coeval with the university of Heidelberg, was at this period crowded with students, to whose learning and eloquence the rapid progress of the original Reformers (designated the Hussites) was with reason attributed. In the University of Heidelberg, on the contrary, prevailed the most servile devotion to the authority of the Romish church. But, although neither the Emperor Robert, nor his son Louis, lent any countenance to heretical innovations, the latter scrupled not, in obedience to the Emperor's mandate, to become the gaoler of Pope John the Twenty-third.* After which memorable circumstance, all we know

* This was during the schism produced by the election of three contemporary Pontiffs.

of this Elector's history is, that he died in the castle of Heidelberg, in the same chamber in which he first saw the light.

The records of the Palatine House afford several pleasing examples of that good faith and respect for the claims of consanguinity, which have ever formed a strong feature in the German character. Thus, it may be remarked of Louis, who had married Blanche, the daughter of Henry the Fourth of England, that he had no diffidence in leaving his son to the care of his brother Otho, who, after having fitted his nephew for government by an excellent education, cheerfully resigned his delegated authority. Many similar traits of integrity might be produced in the annals of Germany, which are unstained by the crimes of a perfidious John, or ferocious Richard.

The grandson of Louis, the young Count Otho, was in like manner protected by his uncle Frederic, but with this single deviation, that the States vested in him exclusively the administration during his life; in

return for that concession, Frederic guaranteed to his nephew the reversionary succession of all his own estates; and, effectually to remove any apprehensions of a disputed inheritance, assumed the habit of a Franciscan monk, with its concomitant obligation to celibacy. In the sequel he renounced this vow, to espouse with the left hand a young lady of noble family, Clara of Dillingen.* Yet, though fondly attached to the woman of his choice, he contracted with her a left-handed marriage; and, in conformity with the engagements he had formed with his nephew Philip, his sons were actually deprived of their patrimony; but the rights of blood remained, and they were

* Many illustrious houses were derived from those offsets from royalty; nor were the offspring of left-handed marriages to be classed with bastards; neither did the laws allow, either to prince or noble, the prerogative of having a right and left-handed wife at the same time. At the commencement of the reformation, certain irregularities had been occasionally permitted, but were soon repressed.—(See Brandt's History of the Reformation; Heiss Empire Romaine.)

allowed to form another irregular branch of the family. The history of Frederic's nephew, Philip, is chiefly remarkable for the struggle which was made by the contemporary Duke of Bavaria to recover the electoral privilege, or rather that alternate exercise of it which had been stipulated three hundred years before. In the sequel, however, the privileges of the Palatine family were solemnly confirmed; and Philip had even the address to obtain the favour of the Emperor Maximilian, to the prejudice of his rival. Equally fortunate were the successors of Philip, Frederic the Second and Third; and, amidst the revolutions which the reformation produced in Germany, the inhabitants of the Palatinate enjoyed undisturbed tranquillity. For this enviable distinction they were indebted in part to the moderation of their princes; but chiefly to the policy of Charles the Fifth, who, though he visited with terror and oppression the heresies maintained in Hesse and Saxony, connived at the promulgation of Lutheranism

in the Palatinate, and occasionally admitted the mediation, whilst he openly respected the neutrality of its sovereign. During this happy interval, the country was enriched — the capital embellished — civilization rapidly increased — the university of Heidelberg flourished — the court was an asylum for fugitive Hugonots — and its Elector became the best friend of those illustrious criminals, whom the bigoted counsels of Henry the Second of France consigned to destruction.* It was afterwards the happiness of this prince to afford protection to a young lady of the royal house of Bourbon, whose romantic story is too nearly connected with the destiny of Frederic the Fifth to be passed over in silence.

It is well known, that on the rise of Calvinism in France, its doctrines were secretly embraced by many ladies of high rank, whom the authority of a husband or father restrained from renouncing the ancient

* See De Thou.

worship. Among these was Jaqueline de Longwi, the wife of Charles de Bourbon*, Duke de Montpensier, one of the first princes of the blood, and also one of those intolerant bigots of the court—who sanctified the vices of departed youth by unrelenting cruelty to heretics and reformers. Disgusted with his brutality, Jaqueline, who had obtained an ascendant at court†, secretly lent her support to the new doctrines, and even contrived to effect a marriage between her eldest daughter and the Prince of Sedan, who was notoriously attached to the Calvinistic party. In revenge for this offence, the Duke de Montpensier consigned their youngest daughter to the cloister, where the dignity of a lady abbess awaited her acceptance. It was in vain that Jaqueline sought to counteract his purpose, by

* The reader will recollect that this prince was descended from the common ancestor of the House of Bourbon.

† It was through the interposition of Jaqueline that the lives of the King of Navarre and the Prince de Condé were spared by Catharine de Medicis.

instilling into the mind of her favourite child the tenets of the Protestant faith. Charlotte imbibed those opinions, but it was only to be rendered more miserable, since she was compelled by the duke, her father, to pronounce the irrevocable vows, even before she had attained the age, or completed the probation canonically prescribed. When the fatal moment arrived, the princess, then only thirteen years of age, by her mother's direction, privately attested a protestation against the engagement which she was constrained to ratify, partly from deference to parental authority, and still more by solicitude to avert the evils of domestic discord. After this preliminary, she retired to the nunnery of Jouarre*, in which she resided seven years; and where, though neither the rank nor dignity of abbess could reconcile her to the deprivation of her mother's society, she endured her fate with unrepining resignation. During that interval Jaqueline died, without the consolation of

* Jouarre, in Normandy.

beholding her beloved child — the Hugonots increased in number and in strength— hostilities commenced between the adverse factions—and, amidst a series of calamitous events, by which millions were involved in ruin, and a few restored to life and liberty, Charlotte de Montpensier saw the gates of her convent forced open by the Hugonots*, for ever quitted her splendid but detested captivity, and having first escaped to her sister, the princess of Sedan, was from thence conducted to Heidelberg, and recommended to the special protection of the Elector Palatine. In that sacred asylum from persecution, she publicly abjured the faith of Rome, and enrolled herself with the strictest reformers. Nor would it discredit her moral feelings to suppose, that her zeal was in some degree animated by those ardent sentiments of admiration, which she had almost unconsciously imbibed for William Prince of Orange†, whose generosity

* This took place in 1572.

† See De Thou. Mémoires de l'Electrice Louise Juliane.

and valour were idolized by the protestant world, and whose chivalrous heroism was peculiarly calculated to impress a susceptible and romantic imagination. Of that noble prince, it is well known that he renounced the favor of the greatest monarch in Europe, to become the champion of a persecuted sect, and an oppressed people—and that his eldest son Philip had been carried by force from the college of Louvain, to be educated in Spain in catholic principles. Although William had been many years engaged in the unequal, yet glorious struggle against the tyranny of Spain, he had scarcely passed the meridian of life; and, although personally unknown to Charlotte, she sympathised in his heroic sentiments, and passionately desired to consecrate to him that life which should seem to have been redeemed from a monastic grave. On his part, the prince was charmed with the intrepidity and gentleness that united in Charlotte's character; — and if her youth and reputed beauty prepossessed his fancy,

her connexion with the house of Bourbon was no less flattering to his ambition. But various obstacles thwarted those mutual views, and imposed on them a tedious probation. William having repudiated, for infidelity, the heiress of Buren, had espoused the daughter of Maurice of Saxony; after whose death he demanded the hand of Charlotte; but the first consort being still in existence, it was by some doubted, whether he could again contract a legitimate marriage.

According to the protestants *, these scruples were removed by the lady's death, to whom the malice of certain catholic writers has given a protracted existence. Another and more serious impediment existed in

* In his vindication, the prince never mentions her infidelity. See l'Apologie du Prince Guillaume d'Orange, published in 1581. He merely contends, that his marriage was legally contracted—and he speaks of her as one who had been some time dead. It seemed to have been another wife from whom he was divorced, the daughter and heiress of the Count de Buren, by whom he had two children, Philip, already mentioned, and Mary, married to Count Holach, a brave commander and excellent patriot.—Du Maurier's Mémoires.—Spanheim's Mémoires.

Charlotte's extorted vows of celibacy; but these, after due formalities, were annulled by the parliament of Paris. To obtain the consent of the Duke de Montpensier was the last effort of the persevering lovers, and apparently the most difficult; yet in this also they succeeded. No longer stimulated by opposition to his wife, the duke not only granted his paternal benediction, but bestowed with it an ample portion. Nothing now remained to retard their espousals; and three years after her departure from the convent of Jouarre, Charlotte arrived at Delft a beloved and happy bride.

From this auspicious marriage sprung six daughters—of whom the eldest, Louisa Juliana, became the mother of Frederic the Fifth, Elector Palatine.

During seven years, Charlotte enjoyed a felicity such as few women are permitted to taste. Devoted to the first hero of the age, and by him requited with truth and tenderness, she gloried in his triumphs—she lived in his fame. She saw him idolized by the

people; and, whether cruel or beloved, he was in her eyes ever triumphant. But this satisfaction was alloyed by his perilous situation. The emissaries of Spain and Rome had long marked him for destruction. And in the year 1582, one of those miscreants, whom the flagitious policy of Spain had subsidised, inflamed by zeal and the promise of eighty thousand ducats, attacked the prince's life, by suddenly discharging a pistol at the table where he was sitting with his family in the castle of Antwerp. The ball entering beneath the left ear, passed out at the right cheek. Believing the shot to be mortal, William, with characteristic generosity, exclaimed, "Spare the assassin — I forgive him." But, at that moment, he became insensible, the princess fainted at the sight of her husband's blood, and the murderer was instantly sacrificed by the despairing attendants. When William revived, he reproved their rashness; and, after some hours, the wound assumed a better aspect. At the expiration of a few days, it had even begun

to heal; when suddenly it re-opened, and the blood rushed forth with a violence that threatened immediate dissolution. In this distressing crisis, when all the resources of surgical skill seemed unavailing, it was proposed to suspend the effusion, by keeping the artery closely compressed by some attendant.* During several days, this service was constantly rendered in the presence of his anxious wife, or the Countess of Schwartzenbourg, his sister, who never quitted his apartment. By this simple process, when all other means had failed, was the danger averted, and the prince restored to the prayers of his relatives and the supplications of the people, who seemed to form with them but one family.

A solemn thanksgiving was ordered in the church of Antwerp, at which Charlotte, her

* Spanheim relates, that the method employed was, "de tenir les veines bouchés du poûlce de quelqu'un des assistans, qui se soulageant par intervalles les uns les autres, et opposant une vigueur ferme à ce flot jour et nuit, firent en sorte que le sang se cailla enfin à l'orifice des veines."

soul overflowing with love and gratitude, assisted; not perhaps without a secret presage, that this day of happiness was to be almost the last of her existence. Exhausted with fatigue, and still more with those alternations of hope and fear she had lately suffered, she sunk under the conflict of contending emotions; "too happy," says Spanheim, "to have sacrificed her remaining days to preserve an existence far dearer than her own; and having once raised her eyes with thankfulness to heaven, she closed them for ever." * The sensibility and enthusiasm of this lady's temper, her graceful form and dignified deportment, had completely captivated the hearts of the people, who evinced the strongest sympathy in her husband's regret. That she had possessed his affections cannot be doubted; yet, in the succeeding year, he presented to his bereaved children a step-mother, worthy to take her place, in Louisa de Coligny, a woman of whom it has been justly said, that she appropriated to

* See Du Maurier.

herself whatever was excellent in the character of either sex. With affections equally susceptible and tender, she possessed more firmness of character, and an understanding more vigorous, and better cultivated, than the Princess of Bourbon.

Formed under the superintendence of her father, the virtuous Gaspar de Coligny, she had enjoyed a cloudless childhood, and even a happy youth, until that fatal eve of St. Bartholomew, in which her father and husband were both sacrificed by the faction of Charles the Ninth. After that mournful event, she retired with her mother to a southern province, where she lived in a seclusion that perhaps fortified, but could not conceal her virtues; and such was the admiration her character inspired in William of Nassau, that he made her proposals of marriage, which she appears to have accepted, less from motives of ambition, than those sentiments of gratitude and enthusiasm which that heroic prince had awakened in all lovers of freedom and humanity.

When Louisa first arrived in Holland, she was surprised to observe so little conformity with the usages of her native country*; and, accustomed as she long had been to the comparative rudeness of a remote province, she could scarcely reconcile herself to carts without springs, which were here substituted for coaches, to the unostentatious custom of walking without pages, or even lacquies, along the streets, and to the extraordinary homeliness and simplicity even of the royal table. But these impressions were evanescent, and she was the first to smile at the uneasiness she had experienced. She soon vied with the prince in affability, and almost surpassed him in the art of winning popularity. The simple republicans, by whom the daughter of Bourbon had been approached with reverence, almost as a being of another order, loved and confided in Louisa de Coligny as in an affectionate and honoured mother. In this admirable woman, the prince found a companion, to whom he

* Du Maurier.

might equally refer for counsel, for sympathy, or amusement. But their mutual happiness was of brief duration. Shortly after the birth of a son, since well known by the name of Henry Frederic of Nassau, the Prince of Orange was assassinated at Delft by a second emissary of Spain, more desperate than the former, and whose aim proved but too successful. No sooner had William received this fatal wound, than he exclaimed, "My God, have mercy on this poor oppressed people." With these words he instantly expired, in the presence of Louisa, whose fortitude sustained the trial, but whose mind was ever after impressed with mournful presages of calamity impending over the objects of her love.

To the daughters of William, his widow faithfully discharged a mother's duty; and there can be no better proof of her merit, than that even in his son, Maurice of Nassau, she inspired confidence and respect. From this admirable woman Juliana caught those graces of deportment which the Coun-

tess of Schwartzenbourg had not to bestow. Under their mutual guidance, she became, even in early youth, so eminently distinguished for mental attainments, that her alliance was eagerly courted; and, finally, the same country that had been her mother's refuge, was destined to be her future home.

The Elector Palatine, Frederic the Third, was no more; his successor, Louis, had also sunk into an early grave; and the grandson of the former, Frederic the Fourth, was a minor, subjected to the administration of his uncle, Prince Casimir, who, having embraced the opinions of Calvin, banished Lutheranism from the University of Heidelberg; and, effectually to silence the controversies which had lately caused a schism in the churches of the Palatinate, prudently determined to unite his royal pupil to a princess who had been educated in the principles of Calvin. In his research, he could discover no royal lady so well fitted to his purpose as Juliana, who had been deeply imbued with those tenets which he upheld, and was connected, by

the ties of blood and friendship, with the most illustrious reformers. In other respects the alliance was eligible: the half-brother of Juliana, Maurice of Nassau, in defiance of Gallic professions and English pretensions, had obtained supreme command of the military and naval forces; one of her sisters was contracted to the Duke de Bouillon, the favoured partizan of Henry the Fourth, and the most able leader of whom the Hugonots could boast. All were rigid Calvinists; and that single consideration was sufficient with Casimir to decide the marriage.

The character of Juliana appears to have assimilated rather with that of her step-mother than her own parent: she inherited the sensibility of Charlotte de Bourbon, without her romantic imagination, and her generosity was tempered by the prudence and fortitude of Louisa de Coligny. Reared in a commonwealth, among a people with whom merit took place of rank, and patriots and heroes engrossed the honours of nobi-

lity, Juliana had hitherto lived in ignorance of the vices and luxuries incident to a voluptuous court, and was ill prepared to adopt the feudal prejudices, or relish the domestic habits which in Germany were universally prevalent. On her arrival at Heidelberg, with whatever gratification she might have witnessed the pomp and pageantry displayed at her nuptials, she was dismayed by the intricacies of the genealogical tables; and unfitted, by her republican education, to appreciate the minute punctilios to which princes and subjects were equally restricted. In reality, the political character of the empire * had impressed a monotonous aspect on private society. Never was a more artificial system established, nor could any

* It appears not that the Reformation had produced any radical change in the national character. In the protestant states the lofty turrets of the old cloistral edifices remained untouched, though their walls were no longer tenanted by monks and nuns. The glory of the Romish priesthood had departed, but under the humbler names of pastors, ministers, or preachers, the clerical order continued to exercise an influence almost omnipotent over the minds of the people.

constitution more ingeniously adapt itself to the great end of despotism, that of keeping the human race in perpetual tutelage. Every thing was here regulated by prescription; and, long after the darkness of the middle ages had departed, its ignorance was perpetuated, whilst its prejudices and superstitions lingered with a chilling influence, which arrested the flow of knowledge and civilization.

Appended to the system of the Germanic constitution, was a voluminous code of prerogatives and restrictions, immunities and privileges, omitting only the interests of the commonwealth, and the rights of the community. Exclusive of the higher nobility, all honours and dignities, not excepting the civil and legal functions, were rendered hereditary. The passion for ancestry tyrannized over the domestic affections. Misalliance was ignominy; and, to prevent the debasement of the heraldic escutcheon, the offspring of an unequal union were deprived of their paternal inheritance, and

transferred to an inferior cast. Instances, however, of such aberrations were not unfrequent in persons of royal lineage; and in the Palatine House had given rise to two or three new lines, some of which were considered illustrious.

Among the nobility, the taste for jousting had sensibly declined; but hunting, hawking, and fishing, were still pursued with an ardour against which preachers and moralists declaimed in vain; and these rural pastimes were in general associated with jollity and drinking, inebriety being at that time the predominant vice of the German nation.*

* The Germans, says Schmidt, were no less addicted to drinking than hunting. It was by them identified with the duties of hospitality, and formed the bond of fellowship. Impenetrable to reproof, they insisted that the practice was sanctified by the example of their forefathers; nor had the doctrines of the Reformation sufficient influence to correct its excesses. It may be observed, that Upper and Lower Saxony, which produced the first staunch reformers, has also offered examples of the hardest drinkers. In this respect, the only perceptible improvement was that glasses were substituted for metallic goblets; nor should it be for

During the last century, the Palatine princes had adopted the modes and costumes of more polished nations. They had succeeded in planting oranges *, and introducing silks or laces: but they ventured not to deprive the student of Heidelberg of his strait vest and long cloak; nor, had they attempted, would they have succeeded, in giving their loving subjects a relish for the Italian opera, the French comedy, or even

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gotten, that if the Germans took deep potations, they mingled not poison in their drink, but uniformly manifested abhorrence of duplicity and falsehood.—Schmidt Geschichte Alleman.

* The luxury of an orangery was confined to the Duchy of Wirtemberg and the Palatine State. The innovations in dress called forth the most envenomed censures from the pulpit. The fardingale excited excessive vehemence. The degeneracy of dress nevertheless continued to be progressive. Thirty years after the introduction of silk stockings by Queen Elizabeth, they became common even to persons of middling life. Maidens went bare-necked, and wore high heels; daughters dressed as gorgeously as their mothers; the professor, like his wife, wore under his gown a stiff whalebone. The expence of hats, amulets, and neck chains, was enormous. Doctors and professors wore a rapier and small dagger, velvet shoes, and large bands. — Schmidt.

the masqued ball, which in England was become a favourite amusement. The court of Heidelberg was not less observant of etiquette than that of Madrid, nor less enamoured of pageantry than that of St. James. To a Spanish princess it might occasionally have appeared imposing: a French or English lady must have pronounced it dull and monotonous. To the modest, religious, intellectual Juliana, the fabric of domestic society must have been uncongenial, if not offensive.

In the reformed states of Germany, the absence of religious processions diminished the splendour, and even checked the gaiety, of the people. Nor did the protestants allow of any recreations, hunting and dancing excepted, in which women might decorously participate. It was only at a wedding, or a christening, or some public festival, that the young met in the dance. Even then the ball was but the supplement of the feast.* The accomplishment of music

* On extraordinary occasions the feasting was prolonged for days, weeks or months; and of such entertain-

was rare—it was England that supplied the minstrels who played even at the festivals. The refinements of society, the flow of fancy, the charm of sprightly conversation were all wanting. The studies of the German princes were exclusively directed to military and polemical subjects. The college of Heidelberg was crowded with scholars, and distinguished by learned men; but as they wrote

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ments, some idea may be formed from what was exhibited at the nuptials of William of Rosenburg with Anna, Margravine of Baden, where there were 40 bucks, 50 does, 20 haunches of venison, 2130 hares, 250 pheasants, and only 30 woodcocks, 2050 partridges, 150 oxen, 546 calves, 654 swine, 450 sheep, 3135 geese, 5135 fowls, 18120 carps, 10289 pikes, 6380 trouts, 5200 crabs; of smoked fish, 7690 stock-fish, 79 lampreys, 4 jacks, 78 herrings, thirty thousand eggs, (oysters were yet unknown in Bohemia.) Of wines, Rhenish, Austrian, Tyrolese, eleven hundred vats; of Spanish wine, forty tons, including Greek wines imported from Candia to Venice; of Bohemian beer, 900 casks.—The horses consumed 3703 measures of oats. Of the guests the principal were the bride's mother, Philip Margrave of Baden, the Dukes of Bavaria, Albert and William, who in 1596, abdicated to his son Maximilian—The feast lasted from the 26th of January, until the 1st of March.

and conversed in Latin, there were, consequently, no national writers, and scarcely any standard works in the native German —the bible and Luther excepted.

How far Juliana really enjoyed happiness, in her conjugal connection, must be left to conjecture; but, during some years she experienced uninterrupted prosperity. Exclusive of the duchess de Bouillon, she saw three of her sisters established in marriage*; her brother Maurice, through the friendly offices of the patriot Barnevelt, raised to pre-eminence in the states; her elder brother, Philip, so long detained in Spain in joyless captivity, liberated, and restored to the principality of Orange; whilst Henry Frederic, the son of Louisa de Coligny, already displayed talents not unworthy of his illustrious father. Nor

* Of these, the third sister, Catherine Belgique espoused the Count of Hanau—the fourth, the Duke de la Trimouille, fifth, Charlotte, who had returned to the bosom of the catholic church, became the abbess of of St. Croix in Poitou, the sixth Amelia, like Juliana, was transplanted to Germany, by marrying a kinsman to the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Lansberg.

was the domestic circle of Juliana less rich in blessings. She had become the mother of several promising children ; and that she had acquired considerable influence over the mind of her consort, may be inferred from his permitting her to new model her household, and to introduce among the courtiers more politeness and decorum. But her influence was employed with still better effect, in regulating the education of her eldest son ; and it was at her suggestion he was sent to the castle of Sedan, the court of the Duke de Bouillon, confessedly one of the most able princes of the age, who, under four successive administrations in France, maintained his place in the cabinet, and disputed precedence with the most powerful leaders of the reformers.

Henry de la Tour, Viscomte de Turenne, was the son of that brave nobleman, who, in the reign of Henry the Second, espoused the daughter of the Constable Montmorency, and was killed at the battle of St. Quintin. Involved in the misfortunes of

his mother's family, the young viscomte attached himself to the Hugonots, and to the person of Henry of Navarre, by whom his services were afterwards requited with a Marechal's staff, and the heiress of the house of Mark, (the Princess of Sedan, the grand daughter of Jaqueline de Longwi, and consequently a cousin-german of Juliana,) in whose right he was permitted to assume the rank of Duke de Bouillon. After her demise, he married the sister of the Electress Palatine, an alliance that, by extending his influence with the French Protestants, necessarily increased his importance in the royal cabinet; an advantage which sometimes enabled him, in spite of the princes of the blood or the minister, to become supreme dictator in the council.

From the court, this brilliant statesman often retired to Sedan, then the seat of learning and science, to which resorted the flower of the protestant youth of France and Switzerland, not merely to pursue their academical studies, but to be trained in martial

and knightly exercise, and to acquire that gallantry and elegance of deportment, which were proper to adorn an exalted station. Even in this retreat, surrounded by scholars and philosophers, princes and nobles, the Duke de Bouillon was incessantly occupied in elaborating some new project for confirming the interests of the Calvinistic party, which he espoused, and for which, by his eloquence and address, he insensibly prepared the minds of his youthful pupils. It was here, if contemporary writers may be believed, that, in conjunction with Henry the Fourth, this able statesman organised the plan for the union of the protestant princes of Germany — so called because Calvinists and Lutherans were invited to coalesce, under the general appellation of correspondents — for the common good; and, whatever might be the result of this measure, it was unquestionably a scheme than which none could be more comprehensive in its object, or better fitted to oppose a barrier to Austrian oppression. Unfor-

tunately, the attention of the Duke de Bouillon was diverted from the great objects of an enlightened policy, by his collision with ministerial intrigues, and the dissensions of the Reformers; the artifices which he employed to maintain pre-eminence, and the voluminous secret correspondence which he maintained with every court in Europe; from all these causes few of his speculations were realized, and even of his most prosperous undertakings the greater part ended in mortification and disappointment. Of his youthful pupils, Frederic appears to have most engaged the duke's attention, not merely from the claims of relationship, but because his penetrating eye discovered, in the Palatinate, a nucleus for that compendious revolution in Germany which he already meditated. It was, assuredly, with no political views that Juliana consigned her son to the Duke de Bouillon; however, by this step she not only removed him from enticements to intemperance and dissipation, but supplied associates of equal rank, calculated to inspire generous emulation, and to form

his manners and sentiments to a higher standard than could have been found in Germany. The result was such as justified her calculations. With a competent share of classical learning and scholastic theology, Frederic not only acquired the accomplishments suited to his station, but, what was of far greater importance, imbibed sentiments of honour and humanity, an ardent attachment to the interests of protestantism, and a manly ardour to resist the encroachments of Austrian despotism. In after life, however, this prince often lamented that he had not rather been subjected to the vicissitudes of a camp, than fostered, with the delicacies of classical literature, in the academy of Sedan, where, if he contracted no improper propensities, he was neither inured to hardships, nor stimulated to exertion. But it was a more positive evil of his situation, that, without commensurate talents, he was prepared, by the lessons of his great master, to become the agent of a political enterprize, which required a rare com-

bination of energy and prudence, such as few men, and yet fewer princes, even in that age of statesmen and warriors, were found to possess.

In his occasional visits to Heidelberg, the young Frederic, without neglecting classical studies, redoubled his attention to theology. Juliana had introduced among her female attendants the custom of reading daily a portion of the scriptures, which at that time supplied themes of familiar discourse for lawyers and soldiers, ladies and courtiers. To these subjects, the peculiar disputes existing among protestants gave a lively interest, since it was incumbent on every Calvinist to be able to explain the grounds, and justify the motives of separation from the Lutheran church; a task that was facilitated at Heidelberg by the prerogative which each German sovereign assumed, of regulating public worship, no Lutheran church being permitted in the Palatinate.*

* It was perhaps this intolerance which caused the Lutherans to approximate to the Catholics much more

It must not be supposed that Juliana affected a singular austerity, or that the serious habits of her household presented any marked dissimilarity to those of other German courts. In reality, the catholic princes of Europe, those of France and Spain excepted, were the avowed enemies of gaiety and pleasure. Duke William of Bavaria, who had abdicated in favour of his son Maximilian, spent his last years in a monastery, incessantly occupied with pray-

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than to the rival sect. The imperfect state of civilization, arising from feudal institutions, rendered the dissemination of liberal opinions impracticable. Neither were the Germans, in this point, more narrow than the States of Holland, in other respects the land of liberty and virtue. In the Palatinate alone there had been already three alternations of Lutherans and Calvinists. How far the Protestant union formed by Henry the Fourth and the Duke de Bouillon might have corrected those petty feuds, can only be conjectured. The death of that monarch, and the vacillation of the French cabinet under Mary de Medicis, rendered the measure not merely inefficient, but injurious to its object, inasmuch as it excited alarm in the Catholics, and led to the formation of that second Catholic league, of which the artful Maximilian was the chief and conductor.

ers, schemes, and negociations, for the extirpation of heresy. His sister Beatrice, the mother of the Archduke Ferdinand of Gratz, had instilled the same principles into her son, who had been educated more like a monk than a prince, with his cousin Maximilian of Bavaria, in the Jesuits' college of Ingolstadt. To the honour of Juliana's understanding, it should be observed, that she not only laboured to inspire sentiments of piety, but to introduce habits of order and decorum. With her own sex she succeeded; but all her efforts failed to correct the epicurean propensities of the nobles; and if public festivals began with hymns and prayers, they commonly closed, like private feasts, with intemperance and inebriety.

The Elector, Frederic the Fourth, dying in 1610, the administration was conferred on his kinsman, the Duke de Deuxponts, who, being young, constantly referred to Juliana's superior judgment; and, in the sequel, obtained in marriage her eldest daughter, Louisa, a princess who, without aspiring to her mother's talents, inherited

her virtues. The supremacy of Juliana being tacitly admitted, she proceeded with the reformation she had before attempted, abridging offices, retrenching expences, and enforcing moral conduct; but, even in its improved state, she considered the court as no proper residence for the young elector, whom she once more dismissed for Sedan; where, as the mind of Frederic expanded, he imbibed with ardour the sentiments instilled by the political conversation of the Duke de Bouillon, not perhaps without receiving certain vague impressions of a splendid destiny, which the participation of his kinsman's talents could alone have verified to the possessor.

At this period occurred an event, that led to a new series of political calculations, the death of the Emperor Rodolph * with-

* It should be recollected that Rodolph and Mathias had long been hostile to each other, yet that Rodolph, by pusillanimity, was compelled to resign to the brother he detested, Hungary and Bohemia, and to see him crowned King of the Romans. It is remarkable that the same fate awaited Mathias, who,

out issue, and the elevation of his brother Mathias, king of the Romans, who was also childless, to the imperial throne. Both these princes were descended form Ferdinand the First, the brother of Charles the Fifth. It naturally became a question of infinite importance to Europe, to consider whether the chief of the Germanic empire, whose interests, since the reign of Charles the Fifth, had been virtually identified with those of Spain, should be sought in the issue of Ferdinand's younger sons, in the manner of a fixed hereditary succession; or whether, according to its legitimate constitution, he should be sought among the princes of the empire, and chosen by the electoral college. To admit the former, was to renounce for ever the only shadow of resemblance to the Roman empire which had ever existed in the German hierarchy. There were two presumptive heirs of Mathias: of these, the Archduke

in like manner, found himself compelled to adopt the Archduke Ferdinand of Gratz.

Albert was married to the Governess of the Netherlands, and like her advanced in life; the other, Ferdinand of Gratz, who had succeeded in his father's right to Stiria, Carinthia, and other hereditary provinces, having been fostered by the Jesuits, was already known to the protestants, by the expulsion of heretics from his dominions.

On the other hand, as the catholics saw no other means of securing to their party the ascendancy they had hitherto possessed, the future election of Ferdinand was by them already decided; and, as their efforts were sure to be vigorously sustained by the court of Spain, it was little probable that the result of the contest should not be favourable to their wishes.

Whilst the administrator of the Palatinate, in conjunction with the Duke of Saxony, entered on the office of the vicariate, the Duke de Bouillon employed his active mind in speculations, * in which the personal interests of Frederic were not overlooked,

* See Le Vassor, Règne de Louis treize.

for dissolving the league between Austria and Spain; and, whether the Austrian dynasty should be deprived of its hereditary chief, or dismembered by the alienation of one of its most splendid provinces, he hoped to invest his nephew with a regal crown, and an extensive monarchy. It appears not how far Frederic shared in these anticipations, in 1612, when he departed from Sedan, to attend the coronation of Mathias at Frankfort, to which he repaired incognito, but not without a magnificent train, such as uniformly attended a German prince. On that day, however, he found himself little distinguished from other petty sovereigns; for, whilst the Duke de Deuxponts officiated as great seneschal, or arch-treasuer, Frederic, as became a minor prince, retired to a gallery, from whence he had an ample view of the whole expanse of royalty and nobility * included in the German empire,

* It was the saying of Charles the Fifth, that in other dominions he was obeyed by subjects, but in Germany he commanded kings. In that fictitious com-

from the abbot or abbess, who governed a town or hamlet, to the marquis, count, duke, prince, who formed, in a manner, the steps to the electors, who were the very pillars of the imperial throne.* The electors claimed equality with kings; but the important function of the vicariate attached to the Counts Palatine, were simply derived from domestic services personally

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monwealth, however, nothing like equality was represented since the enviable privilege of nominating to the empire was limited to seven princes, the three ecclesiastical and four secular electors, the former of course Catholics—of the latter, the Duke of Saxony, the Elector Palatine, the Margrave of Brandenburgh, were Protestants, the suffrage of the King of Bohemia was lost in the emperor's person—hence both parties were numerically equal; but the Catholics had the advantage in unity; the Protestant princes being divided into Calvinists and Lutherans, who were often opposed to each other. Undoubtedly, the electoral college possessed considerable authority, the collision of religious parties, the impulse given by Protestantism, had doubled the importance of the electors' prerogative.

* At the coronation of Mathias, 2000 coaches followed in procession, some of the princes had several hundred retainers.

rendered to Charlemagne. To a philosopher, it might have been amusing to observe the ambitious assumption of the Roman name, in an empire which, in the complicated gradations of its privileged ranks, presented a marked contrast to the dignified simplicity of the Roman character. * Yet Frederic and his partizans might with reason indulge in patriotic feelings of exultation, from the contemplation of the Protestant princes, who now equally divided the electoral college with the Catholics: nor let them be charged with presumption, if, measuring the future by the past, they looked forward to the period when they should have even taken place of their too formidable opponents.

To recall the spirit of a departed age were a vain attempt: domestic scenes may

* Ancient nobility was derived from personal qualities, and announced by a simple epithet; modern nobility originated in servitude and dependence, and in Germany this feature of modern society was even exaggerated.

be portrayed: historical events are registered, but the momentary passions, that gave to them their interest and intensity, have passed into oblivion. To those who recollect that the Protestants had lately commemorated the revolution of the century that had elapsed since the era of Luther's apostasy, it will not appear surprising that they should have attributed to themselves an almost superhuman power, in surmounting whatever obstacles might impede their future progress. Never, perhaps, had the revolution of a single century produced changes more extraordinary, more important. A few sects had expanded to as many nations: those innovators who had been scarcely endured, were now tolerated, dreaded, or triumphant. The Catholics had still exclusive possession of Spain, Portugal, and Italy; but England, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland defied their omnipotence In Switzerland and France the two parties were divided; in Germany the reformers had

gained too much to remain in security, unless they could establish independence.

Unhappily for the Protestants, the genuine spirit of liberality had not kept pace with the progress of the new opinions; since it appears, according to an intelligent writer*, "that the lights scattered by the Reformation were, in Germany, concentrated in "religious controversy. It was the scholastic who wrote, and the erudite who read. "The national language was abandoned to "the ignorant, and, with the exception of "the Bible and Luther, no popular literature existed. The study of that sacred "volume had, however, produced an extraordinary developement of the mental "faculties: its sublime poetry imparted to "the preachers whatever graces they possessed. To the illiterate and learned its "pages were alike familiar: scriptural examples were employed by soldiers and "women to illustrate their arguments; and

* Schmidt.

" even the language of the court was im-
" pregnated from the same source. The
" luxuries of sentimental poetry, or the
" graces of dramatic composition, which,
" in England, diffused some sweetness amid
" the thorns of controversy, were here nei-
" ther cultivated nor even relished. The
" superb library which the Elector Palatine,
" Frederic the Fourth, had erected*, con-
" tained some of the rarest specimens of
" ancient literature, but they were useful
" only to scholars; to the people they com-
" municated nothing; nor did any popular
" bards, as in parallel eras of civilization in
" England, France, and Italy, excite the
" public mind." The aristocratic constitution of the States had given a hard and monotonous aspect to society, and the feudal usages, the unbending spirit of German policy, continued to resist, as innovations, the changes essential to progressive improvement. It has been justly observed, that there is an

* At Heidelberg.

important difference between the artificial polish of courts and the natural process of civilization spontaneously produced from a healthy and vigorous constitution of society. It is not surprising that, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, the monarchs of Europe should have been forward in cultivating the arts connected with luxury and wealth; but it is a singular fact, which is only to be explained by the ambitious emulation of the various Christian sects, each struggling for pre-eminence, that, at this period, whether the sovereign were Papist or Protestant, he held himself bound to maintain pretensions to religion and decorum, such as, thirty years before, and thirty years after, the present epoch, would have been regarded with contempt. In the courts of France and Spain, it is true, the veil of decency was but superficial: in the court of James austerity was not even affected: in Austria, and the greater part of Germany, the serious professions of either sex appear to have been sincere. But it was

in the Netherlands that propriety of demeanour was most uniformly preserved in union with religious principle; and neither in the Catholic court of Brussels, or the Protestant cities of Holland, was relaxation in morals allowed. The Infanta Isabella appears to have been equally correct, though less enlightened, and consequently less capable of the higher virtues, than Louisa Coligny. The general tone of society in Holland was infinitely superior to that of any Catholic country; a privilege for which it was also in part indebted to the generous spirit of liberty, and the influence of its civil and political institutions, but still more perhaps to the moral energies inspired by its strenuous and successful conflict, with the gigantic power of Spain.

"If there be a single spot in Europe," says Spanheim, "worthy to command the "admiration of the spectator, it is Holland, "which presents, in small compass, an epi-"tome of the wonders of the world. Such "is its position, its prosperity, its wealth,

" its fertility, that its manufactures, the
" number and the industry of its inhabitants,
" are more proper to excite astonishment
" than admiration. It is here that, within
" the circumference of sixty leagues, we
" find a more numerous population, more
" magnificent towns, more immense ship-
" ping, than are elsewhere to be discovered
" in whole kingdoms. The sea is here sub-
" jected, the winds are rendered tributary
" to the people, the land inundated, the
" fields navigated, the lakes tilled, the whole
" face of nature changed and transposed at
" the fiat of man, the universal ruler. Under
" his auspices the country becomes delight-
" ful; the cities are rich, the villages in-
" viting, the pastures incomparable, the
" flocks admirable, the fertility incredible.
" This nation has to thank the Spaniards
" for having learnt to know its internal
" strength, and the passage to the new con-
" tinent. Its merchants are princes, its navi-
" gators are Argonauts; its fleets the scourge
" of Castile, and the foragers of the eastern

" ocean; its citizens apt for government,
" and incapable of submitting to servitude.
" Of all the regions of the earth it is that
" country to which nature has been at once
" the most sparing and the most munificent.
" In fine, it is this little mole of earth that
" forms a dyke to the sea, the boundary of a
" mighty empire, and a bulwark to the liber-
" ties of Europe."*

* During the last fifty years, the German princes had vied with their French and English neighbours in prodigality of expense; but, destitute of taste, they arrived only at a gorgeous and inelegant luxury. " It was re-
" served for Frederic Duke of Wirtemberg," says Schmidt, " to whom James the First had (in 1603) sent
" the order of the garter, to testify his sense of the
" obligation, by giving a feast not less voluptuous than
" the banquet of Lucullus in his Hall of Apollo, and
" even more superb than that which Wolsey presented
" at Hampton Court. It was in the great hall of Stutgard
" that this entertainment was theatrically exhibited. †
" At one extremity of that apartment was prepared a
" table for the absent guest King James, covered with
" ninety dishes, to which air, earth, and water had

† This account has been extracted by Schmidt from the history of the two Dukes of Wirtemberg, printed in 1609.

" each furnished the most exquisite productions. Nor
" were these epicurean rarities for the palate alone;
" the eye and the ear were allured, and satisfied:
" every dish was profusely garnished with spices, and
" no sooner were the silver covers removed, than a
" volume of aromatic odours, like a cloud of incense,
" diffused through the hall its voluptuous fragrance.
" During each course, various shows were presented to
" amuse the spectators; some as appended to the ban-
" quet, others purely for mental entertainment. To
" the former class belonged pasties of every imaginable
" form, of every visible tint, and filled with every
" thing that earth or water could supply. After these
" were seen birds, such as swans; cranes, erect on
" their feet, their necks stretched forth; the gaudy
" peacock, so placed as apparently to be lost in the
" contemplation of his own beautiful plumage. Fish
" were exhibited partly in the natural form, partly
" embellished with gold and silver tints. After this
" came other shows, or pageants. At the upper end
" of the royal British table presided Hercules, re-
" presented by a masculine statue of colossal pro-
" portions; prostrate at whose feet lay four men,
" against whom the divinity raised the jaw-bone of an
" ass. What intense power in the eyes, what force in
" the attitude! exclaims the eye-witness of this
" scene; at a single glance the *Herculean* mind of
" King James was exhibited! At Duke Frederic's own
" table was placed the statue of Minerva, to convey
" an idea of his love of science and letters. At the
" table of the British ambassador stood Mercury,
" confronted by satyrs, whose figures were chiefly

" composed of wax. These wild men were bound " with branches of the orange tree, which flour- " ished only in the royal gardens of Wirtemberg " and Heidelberg. To delight the ear, the duke's " band played alternately with that of the British " ambassador; and there was a conflict of sweet " sounds, an emulation of harmony in songs and " instruments, the violin, the lute, and the harp: " not more heavenly had been the strains breathed " by Apollo in concert with the Muses. The Eng- " lish minstrels were few, but for this they amply " atoned by superior skill; for England, adds this " relator, abounds in exquisite musicians, and also " the best players, of whom numbers congregating " together, leave their father-land, to exercise their " talent in foreign courts. It is not long since such a " company displayed their skill at the different courts " of Germany with such success, that each was soon " able to return to his country with a competent " fortune. Exclusive of the trumpets, the Duke's " band comprised sixty musicians; so that it yielded " to no monarch's company. The dinner over, there " was a royal dance, beginning in the old German " style, with one couple, having two to lead, and two " to follow. After these followed five princes, and as " many princesses. The parents sat with the ambas- " sadors, watching the movements of the illustrious " performers."

According to Schmidt, the Duke of Wirtemberg was rivalled in his love of music by the Dukes of Bavaria; but the prince who most ardently patronised it

was the Emperor Ferdinand the Second, who had a band of eighty performers.

Fireworks were at this period little common; yet, fifteen years after they formed a principal part of every royal gala.

Hospitality was a strong feature in the old German character, pervading every station. The palace was crowded with guests, the tables were oppressed with abundance. An immeasurable fondness for pomp was no less prevalent. The dignity to the prince was measured by the number of his retainers and domestics. Duke Frederic of Wurtemberg appeared at the assembly of the States with a little army of seven hundred retainers. In the procession for the Emperor Matthias on the day of his coronation, followed two thousand coaches, independent of three thousand cavaliers on horseback. Even nobles of inferior rank deemed it creditable, in taking half-a-day's journey, to muster a company of attendants. Although these ancient usages continued in full force, they did not prevent the introduction of new and more expensive modifications of luxury.

In 1609, Christian, Elector of Saxony, defrayed for sixteen hundred guests, who, at the sound of the trumpet, saw the table covered. The Elector himself remained at table six hours; and during that time nothing was done but to contend which of the party should eat the most and drink the longest. The custom of feasting was not confined to the great; all ranks participated in the sensual propensity; against which sumptuary laws proved wholly unavailing. In the town of Munden, in Brunswick, it was ordained that the din-

ner should not last above three hours, and that even a wedding-feast should not exceed twenty-four dishes, allowing ten persons to every dish. To enforce obedience to these rigid laws, the Stadt Arme stood before the house, and were also to be regaled; whilst the sick people were placed behind expecting an alms of kindness. In Saxony, whenever a marriage-feast was to be celebrated, application was made to the magistrates, who regulated the number of dishes.

The Lutherans affected not the austerities of the Calvinists; and as they partially retained the worship, they allowed themselves many of the indulgences enjoyed by the mother church. In Saxony and Brandenburg the men were notoriously addicted to drinking and jollity; nor were the women always unsuspected of gallantry. It was not, therefore, entirely without reason, that Calvinistic parents sought to retain their children in a communion in which moral conduct was fortified by the strict discipline that continued to be enforced by its pastors and ministers. To return once more to the subject of courts, it must be remarked, that the Archduke Albert and his consort, the Infanta Isabella, maintained at Brussels, among the nobles, the same decorous regularity which had long characterized Flemish citizens. The mornings were given to exercise, to business, or devotion; in the evening, the men talked or played at cards; some of the women worked with the Archduchess, in the manner of Catharine, queen consort of Henry the Eighth of England.

The court of Munich, like that of Vienna, was remarkable for gravity and dulness. Maximilian had

received from his parents a most religious and strict education. Having been associated with the Archduke Ferdinand of Gratz in the college of Ingolstadt, and, like him, imbued with unbounded veneration for the Roman pontiff, and excessive complaisance for the Jesuits. In the sequel, however, neither the rigid Maximilian, nor the scrupulous Ferdinand, ever sacrificed personal interests to religion. The latter was shrewd and ingenious, a lover of letters and the arts, passionately fond of architecture, in which he displayed no ordinary degree of taste. Of the serious character that prevailed at this court, some idea may be formed from the grand festival exhibited at the consecration of St. Michael's church; at which Ferdinand of Gratz, his mother, Beatrice, and all the princes of the Austrian house, assisted. The dinner was served in the college to four tables, at one of which, prepared for royal guests of both sexes, a cardinal expounded an edifying Christian discourse: whilst, at each of the other tables, a learned Jesuit harangued, in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew.

On the following day was represented a tragi-comic religious mystery, for which a temporary theatre had been constructed, the subject Michael and the dragon; the former furnishing an apt allusion to the apostolic church, the other to the heresy of Luther and Calvin. The fable was relieved by various agreeable episodes, or interludes, which filled up an interval of four days, during which an incessant rain had suspended the finale; but at length the skies cleared, and a shower of fire from the dragon's mouth portrayed the extirpation of heresy to the delighted spectators.

The following additional observations, extracted, like most of the foregoing, from the excellent history of Schmidt, may not be unacceptable to the general reader: — "Germany abounded in scholars, but they "were considered more eager to teach than to learn, "more ready to dispute than instruct, and were con- "fessedly more disposed to value themselves on the "number than the quality of the volumes they pro- "duced. The subjects of their disquisitions were ill "calculated to expand the mind: with the rugged "themes of polemical controversy were intermingled "the legends of witcheries and demonology. The "doctrines of Luther were strongly impregnated with "popular traditionary superstitions. Naturally pre- "disposed to gloomy impressions, that great man was "accustomed to refer to the agency of demons every "crime, every injury, that disturbed public or private "tranquillity. The seditions of the anabaptists, the "explosion of the mines, were all traced to the same "source."

The Reformation had produced a greater change on the manners and modes than the original habits and character of the Germans. At its commencement, much mischief was predicted by alarmists from the abolition of fast-days, the increasing demand for flesh, which could only be procured by the importation of cattle from Hungary and Poland.

In common with other European nations, the Germans saw many articles of native produce superseded by those American plants which the discoveries of Columbus had introduced; the woad was supplanted by the indigo; the exportation of gold and silver for

silks and velvets was heavily arraigned by their economists. To prevent this, the culture of silk worms was attempted without success. In former times it had been the pride of the potentates to preserve the current coin in uncorrupted purity; and it was the saying of the old Landgrave, Philip of Hesse, that the true sovereign was to be known by clean streets, punctual observance of his word, and an unadulterated coinage; but the good faith which prompted this tenacity of principle, yielded to expediency and the prevalence of example; and after the commencement of the first religious war, little was to be seen to sanction the scrupulosity of Philip or his successors.

The depreciation of the coin was pathetically deplored by the moralists of a succeeding age: "No longer "can one give a penny to the poor, no longer offer "an oblation of piety, nor deposit aught in the Lord's "treasury: the coomb of corn that but three years "since could be purchased for two dollars, now ex- "torts fourteen! for the herring that was offered for "two pennies, we now pay tenpence. Oh when, if "ever, shall the pennies or Jacobusses come again!"

Without the strength which is derived from political union, Germany possessed in its military population sufficient physical force to render it formidable to the rest of Europe. Soldiers swarmed in every district, and there was scarcely an armament in Christendom in which Germans were not enlisted. In their native country the camps were the resort of women, the matrons still preserving, in this respect, the usage of ancient times. Children were often born in the camp, and so regularly were they all bred to arms, that it

was not uncommon to see not only compatriots but townsmen opposed as enemies. It was remarked that their favourite weapons were the pike and sabre, with which they succeeded better than with the musket. War was the favourite pursuit, and, to the noble and peasant, equally profitable. It was remarked by Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, that, without pay, German troops became mutinous, and that when money was wanting, it would be more easy to manage devils than govern soldiers.

CHAP. II.

BIRTH AND EDUCATION OF ELIZABETH.—RESIDENCE AT COMBE ABBEY.—SUPERINTENDENCE OF LORD AND LADY HARRINGTON. — CORRESPONDENCE WITH HER BROTHER PRINCE HENRY. — THEIR MUTUAL FRIENDSHIP.—CONTRACT OF MARRIAGE WITH THE ELECTOR PALATINE.

ELIZABETH STUART, the eldest daughter of James, King of Scotland, and Anne of Denmark, was born in the palace of Falkland on the 19th of August, 1696, and consequently was nearly coëval with Frederic Count Palatine, who, if we may credit certain political traditions, was even in the cradle designated her future consort.*

* See Bougeant, Histoire des Négociations qui précédèrent le Traité de Westphalia.

It is pretended, that this arrangement originated in a secret negociation, of which the Duke de Bouillon and Prince Maurice were the primary authors, their object being to circumscribe the enormous power of Austria.

Without investigating this question, it is a well attested fact, that the education of the prince and princess was in all essential points well calculated to form them for each other. At an early period of her existence, Elizabeth, like her brother Henry, was confided to the care of persons cordially attached to Protestant principles. On her transplantation to England in 1603, she was for a few months transferred from Lord Livingston to the Countess of Kildare*, a daughter of the Lord High Admiral, Howard Earl of Nottingham. Of that lady's mental qualifications nothing is known; nor can it

* Frances Howard, third daughter of the Earl of Nottingham, was first married to Henry Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare; after whose demise, she espoused the unfortunate Lord Cobham, who, shortly after the accession of King James, was involved in the troubles of Lord Grey and Sir Walter Raleigh. The Countess of Kildare was still designated by the title of her former consort. She left Lord Cobham in disgust, to return to her father's protection; nor did she, when he was suffering the utmost distress, make the slightest effort for his relief.—*See the Peers of James the First, by Sir Egerton Brydges.*

be doubted she was indebted for the probably titular office of governess to her high connexions: during the short period that she retained her trust, the young princess appears to have engaged much of the king's attention; her elementary progress was by him carefully inspected — and no sooner had she learnt to use the pen, than he encouraged her to employ it in composing infantine epistles, addressed to himself or Prince Henry, a practice not more useful than pleasing, which cemented the union of the Royal children, and confirmed the ties of blood by the sympathies of friendship. At the close of 1603, King James, in conformity to the plan of education adopted for Royal families both in Scotland and France, consigned his daughter to the exclusive care of Sir John Harrington,* recently created

* Cousin-german to the witty Sir John Harrington, well known for his epigrams, his translation of Ariosto, and the favour he enjoyed with Elizabeth. (See Miss Aikin's Court of Elizabeth.) This witty Sir John Harrington was averse to the Puritans, and, to judge from his writings, on no cordial terms with the cour-

Baron of Exon, to be, by him, educated and maintained until she should have attained maturity. By this arrangement, Elizabeth was separated from her brother, a circumstance which caused probably the first, certainly the deepest chagrin, she had ever experienced.* But, however painful might be this removal to her warm affections, she had afterwards sufficient reason to revert with gratitude to the judgment and discrimination that had directed the King's choice of her future home. In the chronicle

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tiers of James the First. "My cousin, Lord Harring-
"ton of Exon," he writes (in 1606), "doth much
"fatigue himself with the royal charge of the Princess
"Elizabeth; and midst all the policy of these times,
"hath much labour to preserve his own wisdom and
"sobriety."—*Harrington's Nugæ Antiquæ.*

* The few lines addressed to Henry on this occasion evince her unwillingness to be separated from him:—

"My dear and worthy brother, I most kindly salute
"you, desiring to hear of your health; from whom,
"though I am now removed far away, none shall ever
"be nearer in affection, than your most loving sister,
"ELIZABETH."

The Princess was now eight years of age.

of the times, Lord Harrington is scarcely mentioned but as a courtier, who took his place in a tilting match, or assisted at a grand spectacle. Enslaved by no party, adverse to all intrigue, though recently ennobled, he might be considered a representative of the better order of old English gentry, who united independence to dignity, and probity to loyalty, and by their hospitality and munificence enriched and civilized the neighbouring tenantry: descended from an ancient family, he had largely added to his patrimony by his marriage with an heiress*, in whose right he came into possession of Combe Abbey in Warwickshire; where, contrary to the prevailing custom of migrating to different seats, he fixed his stationary residence. With more pretensions to shine than her unassuming consort, Lady Harrington possessed all the modest and noble virtues which adorn the character of

* Anne, daughter of Richard Kelsaway, Esq., by whom Combe Abbey, and the large estates appended, passed to the Harrington family.

a British matron; and whilst her tasteful dress and elegant deportment attracted the smiles of the new Queen (the volatile Anne of Denmark), she concurred in her husband's plans for preserving order and decorum in their numerous household, and sustained her part with equal grace in public and domestic life. In fine, Lord and Lady Harrington were precisely such personages as monarchs rarely attract to their court: they ranked not as favourites, for they had principle; nor as courtiers only, since they rose above the character; nor as confidants, since they too little participated in the follies of the sovereign; but as faithful, honourable servants, whose conscience offered a guarantee for the discharge of their respective duties, with whatever inconvenience accompanied; however poorly recompensed.

The habits of Combe Abbey * appear to have been as regular as those of a religious community. Lord Harrington, a Protestant

* Combe Abbey had been originally a monastery, and its cloisters are still visible.

strictly attached to church and state, was, politically speaking, an unexceptionable guardian for the British Princess: his two children, a son and daughter, were both eminently distinguished—the former, John Harrington, well known as the correspondent and bosom friend of Prince Henry*, was of unblemished morals, but in his religious sentiments had imbibed an almost ascetic austerity: his sister Lucia, whom Ben Jonson flatters for her beauty, and Daniell

* In the seriousness of his dispositions, John Harrington was not singular; many well-educated youths in that day, some of whom became the warm and upright partisans of the independents in the reign of Charles the First, were equally characterised by strict moral and devotional spirit. Since the reformation, religion had formed the ground-work of all national concerns: this at first sight appears to be a novelty, but it should be recollected, that when the reformation subverted this supremacy of the Roman Church, it destroyed not the ecclesiastical spirit, which, even in Protestant countries, obtained, or attempted the same domination; this spirit was combated only by those who desired to separate spiritual concerns from mundane transactions; hence, the collision of opinions, the endless controversies which seemed to be the very gales of life to the whole community.

commends for learning, is celebrated by Donne and all the poets of the day as a muse and a grace, and was unquestionably a woman of rare attainments.*

At the commencement of Elizabeth's residence in Combe Abbey, young Harrington, then in his sixteenth year, was finishing his studies previous to travelling on the continent, to explore the remains of Roman antiquity being then regarded as essentially necessary to a gentleman's education. — His intimacy with Prince Henry was founded on mutual esteem and perfect harmony in their moral and religious principles. In the tastes and aptitudes of those distinguished youths, there appeared to have been little sympathy: imbued with the love of letters and the arts, Harrington already discovered literary abilities, of which Henry gave no similar indications; nor did his quiet sedentary habits and meditative dis-

* See Sir Thomas Rowe's letter on medals, and Sir William Temple's commendation of Moor Park, which had been laid out under her superintendence.

positions accord with the martial spirit that had animated the prince from early childhood.* In their fates alone is to be traced a marked, though melancholy, resemblance; both blasted in the spring of life — long before either had verified the predictions of their tutors, or repaid the bounty of nature.

Lucia Harrington† was, like her mother, fitted to adorn a court, and, like her bro-

* According to the interesting account of John Harrington in the Nugæ Antiquæ, he allowed but five hours to sleep, and employed his waking hours in useful exercises, in study, and devotion. In character he resembled King Edward the Sixth rather than Prince Henry.

† Lucia married Russel, Earl of Bedford, and after her brother's death succeeded to his estates, which she afterwards alienated to pay the debt incurred by her prodigality. She was confessedly one of the most cultivated women of the age; of her charms we may however doubt, in spite of Jonson's beautiful sonnet, since Daniell lauds the preference she gives to learning, and expatiates on the imperishable graces of the mind, a theme rarely chosen by any poet but in the absence of those personal charms which draw universal homage.

ther, formed to enjoy retirement: she was not only learned, but in a high degree cultivated and ingenious, and so pre-eminently gifted with the attributes of taste, that in gardening, in architecture, and poetry, her discriminating judgment was generally admitted. When Elizabeth arrived at Combe Abbey, Lucia, who had scarcely attained womanhood, was its inmate, and the elegance of her mind and manners must have been advantageous to the young princess, who, like her, acquired a relish for gardening and architecture; and, had her days flowed on in prosperity, would probably have fallen under the reproach incurred by Lucia for her immeasurable indulgence of taste and munificence. During her residence at Combe Abbey, the favourite companion of Elizabeth was Anne Dudley*, Lord Harrington's niece, with

* Anne Dudley was the second daughter of Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, and Theodosia Harrington: her brother, Ferdinando Dudley, was made Knight of the Bath at the creation of Henry Prince of Wales, 1600.

whom she formed a friendship never to be relinquished. Under this roof she was surrounded by every object that could afford healthful and varied gratification to childhood. "With God's assistance," writes Lord Harrington, "we hope to do our "Lady Elizabeth such service as is due to her "princely endowments and natural abilities, "both which appear the sweet dawning of "future comfort to her royal father." That the princess possessed quick parts was obvious to the most superficial observer, and had she, instead of Prince Henry, been heir apparent to the British throne, it is probable as much might have been recorded of her infantine wit and wisdom. Her native powers appear not to have been inferior to those of that promising youth; and she had over him one advantage, that of not having been prematurely exposed to the adulation of mercenary courtiers; her dispositions were affectionate, and though often teazed and thwarted by Henry, she never ceased to cherish him with equal

fondness.* To her mother's care or tenderness she seems to have been little indebted; but she inherited her fair complexion, her graceful form, her vivacity, facility, and affability, qualities which, even in the absence of every thing respectable, often ensure popularity to their possessor; exclusive of these, Elizabeth had, in her name, a passport to the hearts of the English people, by whom the memory of their late illustrious queen was held in reverence. The removal to Combe Abbey formed an epoch in her life that, but for the deprivation of her brother's society, would have been perfectly happy. It was flattering to a child who had scarcely numbered eight years, to see herself placed at the head of a large establishment, and invested with the power of conferring favours and dispensing pleasure; privileges, of which, to judge from her letters and character, she was ever tenacious,

* See Life of Prince Henry, by Cornwallis.

and which even then she appears to have prized the most.

The situation of Combe Abbey, though little attractive to the lovers of picturesque scenery, was recommended by its richly wooded parks abounding in game, its extensive gardens, and opulent tenantry. Among the revolutions which it had undergone, the monastic aspect had been allowed to remain; but the cloisters were now occupied by the numerous retainers in Elizabeth's household; and never did she issue from this mansion unattended by her faithful guardian, and a splendid retinue of both sexes. Nor was this habitual pomp altogether useless in preparing for that life of theatrical exhibition imposed on royal personages; and that Elizabeth had already acquired sufficient self-possession to sustain her part with becoming ease and dignity may be gathered from an account of her first visit to Coventry, which is still extant in the registers of that city.*

* See History of Coventry.

" On Tuesday, the 13th April, 1604, the " Princess, Lady Elizabeth, the King's eldest " daughter, came from Combe Abbey, no- " bly accompanied: although scarcely eight " years old, she was sufficiently expert in " horsemanship to have headed an eques- " trian's train in the old manner of the " maiden queen; but the fashionable usage " of carriages attested the degeneracy of " public taste, and instead of this graceful " exhibition, was instituted a procession of " coaches, in ~~one of which~~ sat the young " Princess. The heads of the corporation " omitted no attention that could bespeak " attachment to the daughter of the reign- " ing sovereign. The city poured forth " men, women, and children to greet the " royal child, whilst the mayor and alder- " men, clad in scarlet robes, followed by the " burgesses attired in gowns and hoods, all " well mounted, proceeded to Jabet's Ash.*

* Jabet's Ash, at the extremity of the town. The tree has long vanished, but its vicinity still retains the name.

" At Jabet's Ash the cavalcade halted. " The worshipful mayor alighting, advanced " to the Lady Elizabeth to kiss her hand; " then, remounting his steed, rode majesti- " cally before her. The Lord Harrington " and all his cavaliers followed bare-headed, " the citizens standing in the holiday dress " of gowns and hoods in respectful silence. " In this manner they proceeded to St. " Michael's church, all the burghers stand- " ing on their arms. The master of the free " school preached a sermon; to which the " little Princess had been taught to listen " with profound attention. She was then " conducted to St. Mary's Hall, where she " dined, sitting for the first time in a chair " of state, of which the novelty might in " part perhaps atone for its uneasiness; but, " on being presented with a gilt silver cup, " she was constrained to accept Lord Har- " rington's aid to sustain the weight when " she took it in her hand and received the " civic pledge. From St. Mary's Hall, she " went to the free school and the library;

" and thus made her progress through the " streets, till she once more found herself " at Jabet's Ash, where the mayor and " aldermen, hitherto her constant satellites, " with the usual ceremonies, took their " leave."*

It may be observed, that in this account no attempt is made to ascribe to the little Princess, those marvellous talents which the courtiers of France and Scotland had detected in her grandmother, the interesting Mary, and which certain Scottish pedants imagined in her father, the bonie King James. Through the whole period of Elizabeth's childhood we find no mention of her witty sayings or extraordinary eloquence; and it is the best eulogium of those who superintended her education, that, as far as was compatible with her high rank, it was

* The Princess received various proofs of liberality and loyalty from the city of Coventry.

Extract from the Corporation Annals, 1605: —

" At new-year's tide, gave the Princess Elizabeth " when at Lord Harrington's, a pair of fat oxen, value " 18*l.*"

conducted with simplicity, and harmonized exactly with the character of an English lady of that age.

To the city of Coventry, Elizabeth was, on the following year, 1605, conveyed for safety during the panic universally excited by the discovery of the gunpowder plot, in which she was unconsciously implicated, the conspirators having intended to seize her person, and place her by compulsion on the vacant throne. Nor was this precaution superfluous, since, if we may credit Lord Harrington, himself and all his household were involved in the common danger. After the event he writes, "I am not yet recover-
"ed from the fever occasioned by these dis-
"turbances. I went with Sir Fulke Greville
"to alarm the neighbourhood, and surprise
"the villains, who came to Holbach; was
"out five days, in peril of death, in fear for
"the great charge I left at home. Wynter
"hath confessed their design to surprise the
"princess at my house. If their wickedness

had taken place, in London, some of them say, she would have been proclaimed queen. Her highness doth often say, 'what a queen should I have been by this means?' and, 'I had rather have been with my father in the parliament house, than wear his crown on such terms.'" *

On this occasion vigorous measures were taken by the spirited corporation of Coventry; and from a municipal record still extant †,

* See Nugæ Antiquæ. Second volume.

† Extract from the Corporation Annals, 1605:—

"Nov. 7th, 1605.—Delivered forth of the armory, for the Lady Elizabeth's guard, when she lay at Mr. Hopkins —

To Mr. Breeres, 3 pykes, 1 partisan, 2 black billes.

To Mr. Showell, 2 corslets, 3 pykes, a partisan, and 2 billes.

To Mr. Richardson, 1 corslet, 1 pyke, 3 black billes.

To Mr. Hencute, 4 pykes, 1 corslet, 3 billes, 1 partisan.

To Mr. Walden, 2 pykes, 2 black billes, 1 glaive.

To Mr. Bedford, 2 horsemen's staves, a corslet, 2 bowes.

To Mr. Grovenor, 1 corslet, 2 pykes, 2 billes.

To Mr. Rogerson, 3 billes, 2 pykes, 1 corslet.

To Mr. Letherbanow, 3 billes."—The above wea-

it appears that pikes, partisans, black bills, bows, and corslets were issued from the city armoury to the corporation and principal citizens, in order to form a guard of honour for the Princess. The danger was no sooner averted than Elizabeth was reconducted to Combe Abbey, from whence she wrote to her brother a french billet, concluding with this simple and natural expression of piety, "If God be for us, who can be against us?" With this artless pathos is strikingly contrasted an elaborate congratulatory epistle penned by Frederic Count Palatine, in which he avers a firm conviction, that the wicked *conspiracy proceeded from the direct agency of Antichrist.* To ac-

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pons appear to have been delivered to certain members of the corporation and principal inhabitants — as a guard of honour to the princess, when she came from Combe to Coventry, as a place of security, upon the discovery of the gunpowder plot. As several of the conspirators were in the neighbourhood, waiting the issue of the impending blow in London — had that succeeded, their intention was to secure the person of Elizabeth, and place her on the throne.

count for this difference of style we have only to recollect, that this little theologian (nine years of age) was pursuing his studies at Sedan, the very focus of controversy, and that he had been tutored by those polemical dogmatists, who swarmed in every German court: whilst Elizabeth was domesticated with a sensible, rational family, in a country where the Protestant religion being firmly established, its professors were less accessible to fanaticism and visionary delusions. Although the daughter of James vied not in intellectual capacities with a Jane Grey, or her illustrious namesake of the house of Tudor, or even her ill-fated grandmother, her various attainments were such as might satisfy any judicious instructor. Female learning was no longer patronised at court, yet she commenced her classical studies, and was perfectly familiar with the French language, which she both spoke and wrote with ease and grace. To her tutors she was docile; but the master whom she most loved and honoured, and who more

than any contributed to the developement of her character, was her brother, Prince Henry, whose example seems to have inspired in her guileless bosom the most ardent emulation untainted by jealousy, whilst his perfections, real or imagined, were the inexhaustible themes on which she delighted to expatiate. To this beloved brother she had been from infancy accustomed to yield a deference which seemed to augment her sisterly fondness, and to him she intuitively looked as the standard of virtue and wisdom ; every little attention by him bestowed drew forth expressions of rapturous gratitude, and she was afflicted by the apprehension of his displeasure or estrangement. "I give you," says she, "a million of thanks for the servant you sent, but more for your kind letter, taking few things so joyfully as to hear of your health ; and though I cannot requite you with so pleasant a token, yet are these few lines a testimony of the affection of her whom you shall ever find your loving sister.

" I received your most welcome letters *,
" highly esteeming them as delightful me-
" morials of your brotherly love, in which
" assuredly I will ever endeavour to equal
" you, esteeming that time happiest when
" I enjoyed your company, and desiring no-
" thing more than the fruition of it again,
" that as nature hath made us nearest in
" our love together, so accident might not
" separate us from living together; neither
" do I account the least part of my present
" comfort, that though I am deprived of
" your happy presence, yet I can make these
" lines deliver this true message that I will
" ever be during life yours."†

Although there is in this letter nothing that might not flow from an affectionate

* Several of these early letters are in the Harleian MSS. Some of them have been published in Birch's life of Prince Henry.

† Sealed with wax fantastically ornamented with floss silk; sometimes the name of Elizabeth inscribed in letters of gold; green or golden threads were entwisted with the wax. The young princess had already acquired a fondness for ornament which never left her.

heart, the language of Elizabeth, like that of other royal contemporaries, was marked by an ambitious gravity, more suitable to riper years. The children of that day assumed, with the costume and manners, the language of maturer personages. Such was the prevalence and such the keenness of religious controversy, that it was considered necessary not only to imbue the infant mind with sentiments of piety, but to indoctrinate it with the knowledge of theology, in order that the puerile disputant might be qualified to discuss the popular subjects of *transubstantiation*, *grace*, *election*, *unity*, and *reprobation*. Neither Catholic nor Protestant tutor felt acquitted of his duty, who had not rendered his pupils capable of sustaining an argument before he was ten years old. Even in England, that country which appears to have engrossed almost exclusively whatever moderation and good sense were to be discovered in Europe, the cultivation of this intellectual gladiatorship formed a prominent object of education, whether public or

private*, and for a time checked the diffusion of science and taste. Nor ought this to excite astonishment, when we recollect that perfidy to heretics was sanctified by papal benedictions; that Lutheran wrestled with Calvinist, and Gomarists circumvented Arminians. At such a moment it must have been of the last importance, on either side, to attach proselytes or enlist defenders. The Protestant zeal of Prince Henry is well known to have been his first principle, or rather his ruling passion; and, as might have been expected, his sister imbibed from him an abhorrence of Popery, that rendered her the idol of the Puritans. At this period the sensibility of her temper appears not unfrequently to have been the source of painful feelings; and in her correspondence with Henry, she impatiently laments his somewhat unkind silence: nor

* Thus it appears that Prince Charles acquitted himself with credit in a public examination in theology before he was eleven years old.—See *Winwood's Memorials.*

is it to be denied, that this beloved brother, participating in that contempt for the female sex which his father notoriously avowed, often took pleasure in thwarting her wishes, in tantalizing her expectations, or even in tyrannizing over her sisterly affections.* In one instance, Elizabeth, evidently wounded by his indifference, thus addresses him :—" Let us suspend, I conjure you, the silence that has but too long estranged us. Separated in our persons, in our letters let us still meet and commune together ; and let me hope that my dearest brother will accept mine as a pledge of the affection with which I would fain dedicate to him my future life."

In another she again complains, though respectfully, often alluding to the comparative monotony of her pursuits and amusements.† In the following she even hazards

* See Cornwallis.

† Some of her letters are not untainted with the affectation of the age. In one of these she tells him, " that her mind continually dwells upon his divine per-

some gentle raillery on the tardiness of his communications :—" I would fain hope the same good fortune may accompany this on its flight to Royston that attended its predecessor, which followed, or rather pursued you to Newmarket. These winged messengers of mine, continually fluttering round your highness, have at least the fleetness of the dove, and afford ample proof that they are unencumbered with substance."

The personal intercourse of the princess with her brother was renewed in 1609, when she visited London with Lord Harrington's family, and occupied, with them, apartments

fections, and that such is the love which is seated in her heart, that a million of streams would not suffice to exhaust the source." In another she says, " I beseech you to believe that these lines with which I trouble you, and which, *prima facie*, might be stigmatized for idle babble, are but so many streams flowing from the great ocean of my affections, and the pledges of that obedience which I am ready to yield to your mandates." — This letter was written from Combe Abbey; and it might almost be suspected that Elizabeth had, for the moment, caught the quaintness, without the learning, of Lucia, Countess of Bedford.

in the Palace. Although still engaged in prosecuting her studies, she was now permitted to share in the amusements of the court, and is by Stowe included in the royal party that visited the Tower, expressly to witness the tremendous conflict of a lion with a bear and four dogs *, a spectacle which not only the volatile Queen, but the delicate Arabella Stuart, appear to have contemplated with much complacency. So flexible is human sympathy, that even objects, in themselves the most revolting, when associated with agreeable circumstances, are capable of producing pleasurable emotions. It may also be remarked, that it was modesty, not timidity, which formed in that day the point of female attraction; and courage was no less indispensable than dignity, to complete the portrait of an accomplished lady. Of the arti-

* A minute account of this conflict is to be found in Stowe; who states that the dogs rushed on the lion with the utmost intrepidity, that the bear was sneaking, and the lion sulky.

ficial system of manners since adopted, evidently derived from the voluptuous effeminacy of oriental countries, few examples were then to be found; and whilst the English ladies participated with the other sex in the rude sports of hunting and shooting, the high born dames of France followed their cavaliers to the camp, enlivened its hardships, and even soothed its dangers, superadding to the toils and struggles of war the conflicts of passion and the smiles of beauty.

In England, the example of the late illustrious virago, as she was sometimes pedantically designated, might have lent a sanction, not merely to manly pursuits,but masculine manners; but it may be presumed the sex too well understood their interests, or at least their influence, to adopt them, and in reality there appears to have been always a certain line of demarcation preserved between cavaliers and ladies of good taste: that they rather sympathized than assimilated is obvious; and in this perhaps resided the secret of their mutual

attraction. High spirited and heroic, Elizabeth affected not any singularity, nor arrogated any consequence that was not due to her sex and station; neither were her habits different from those of other young ladies of high quality: naturally frank and ardent, she surrendered herself to the impulse of the moment, with that vivacity which belongs to a sanguine and unsuspicious temper; but she never exceeded the limits that custom prescribed: even when she exerted her strength and address, it was with a feminine sportiveness, that added to her attractions.

In whatever amusements Elizabeth was allowed to participate, they effaced not the serious impressions she had received during her residence in Combe Abbey; and, on returning to that retirement, she addressed to her guardian a poem *, fraught with devotional sentiments, in which she

* This is joy, this true pleasure,
If we best things make our treasure.
See at the end of the Volume.

seems for the moment to have caught the serious spirit of Lady Jane Grey. These meditations did not, however, unfit Elizabeth for relishing the gaieties of the masque produced in honour of the creation of the Prince of Wales. As the ceremonial to be adopted was a subject that occupied all the idle, and some of the wiser retainers of the court, it was not surprizing that a youthful princess should feel deeply interested, more especially as, in common with other ladies, she had to study the part allotted to her in the entertainment. The absence of Henry occasioned her serious uneasiness, and she dispatched a special messenger to recall him to court. "My letters," she writes, "follow you every where, and I would they were as agreeable as they are frequent. I am well aware they have nothing to recommend them, unless I venture to remind you that the ballet is about to be enacted, and that, in an affair of such serious moment, your presence is

absolutely indispensable. I entreat you, therefore, to quit, whatever it may cost you, without delay, to quit the country and all its allurements, and hasten to your sister Elizabeth." This importunity was probably dictated by the queen, her mother, who married in early youth, and prematurely ushered into the world, retained to her last hour the frivolous tastes of childhood. Since her residence in England, she had become passionately addicted to the amusement of the masque *, or ballet, and delighted to exhibit her really handsome person to the

* The masque was a sort of dramatic dance, or ballet, first introduced by Catherine de Medicis in France, and now rendered more than ever popular and magnificent by Mary de Medicis. The Queen of Great Britain aspired not, like that princess, to the honour of invention: leaving to the poet, the artist, and the architect the arrangement of the scenes, she contented herself with lending to them the embellishments of her toilette. The poetry was often supplied by Ben Jonson, and other popular bards, whom indigence compelled to endure the degradation. A most animated description of these spectacles is given in Miss Aikin's Memoirs of the Court of James.

public. In reply to Elizabeth's messenger, Henry wrote to announce his arrival in London; a condescension which called forth a transport of gratitude from his enthusiastic sister: "I hear, with unspeakable satisfaction, of your return to London; et cosa è bella è finita. If you do not understand my Italian, I will give you an interpretation at our next meeting, in exchange for that you promised of your Latin."*

* Je suis contente de m'avouer aucunement redevable de l'honneur de votre lettre à l'importunite de mon homme et à la laideur du temps comme a causes secondes suis je m'en confesse obligée à votre singuliere bienveillance comme a la seule cause principale sans la quelle les autres deux n'eussent sçeu produire un si agreable effet. Je vous en envoye mille graces et vous dis brivement que je sens un extremé contentement de votre retour por deça, et cose è bella è finita si vous n'entendez mon Italien je vous en donnerai l'interpretation à notre prochaine rencontre, en contre echange de celle que me promettez de votre Latin, cependant n'oubliez pas que comme je tiens de la nature la qualite de votre cœur unique aussi tiendrai pour toujours de vos merites et de mon. — See *Royal Letters in the British Museum.*

At this period the most perfect confidence dwelt between the youthful pair: the manly firmness of Henry's character had produced a corresponding energy in his vivacious sister; had he possessed literary talents, she would probably have been no less cultivated than her friend Lucia Harrington: but the prince had no relish for sedentary pursuits; his active spirit thirsted for enterprize, and he insensibly imparted to Elizabeth his romantic passion for martial glory. History was his favourite study; the state of Europe already engaged his serious attention; above all, the state of Protestantism, to which he was ready to devote himself with an ardour that disdained caution or even calculation. Of the influence which the spirit of party exercises even over the most correct minds, there can scarcely be a more striking proof than that the pious, virtuous Henry, by whom the allurements of vice were shunned and abhorred, not only idolized the name of Henry the Fourth of France, but contemplated his example as a model of political

conduct. With the zeal of a partizan, Henry had infused into his sister's mind the same devotedness to the welfare of the protestant party, by which he was himself actuated. Even in their pleasurable excursions of hunting or sailing, there is reason to believe that this subject was often canvassed by the youthful pair, and that they mutually pledged themselves never to renounce their religious faith, or withhold their aid from the persecuted Reformers. It is at least certain that Henry's opinions continued to operate on Elizabeth's mind, and even to influence her conduct, long after he had sunk into an untimely grave.

With whatever contempt the prince shunned the fopperies of the court, he was passionately fond of one of its amusements: this was tilting, in which he excelled most of his juvenile compeers. It was at the gala given in honour of the creation of the Prince of Wales, that he first distinguished himself in this chivalrous exercise; and at

the queen's masque, Elizabeth and her young brother, the Duke of York, entered on the scene, followed by several young ladies, and, among others, the ill-fated Arabella Stuart, at that time familiarly associated with Elizabeth, and by Henry treated with a respectful kindness, far different from the capricious insolence of Anne, or the rudeness of the fickle James.

Of the innumerable women who have been the victims of tyranny and oppression, never was any more innocent, more unresisting, than the gentle Arabella, and never were the rights of blood more barbarously outraged than in the persecution this unhappy lady was destined to experience. It is well known with what bitterness the clandestine union of her parents, Charles Lennox, the younger brother of Darnley, and Elizabeth Cavendish, the daughter of the Lady Shrewsbury, was resented by Queen Elizabeth, who entertained a violent and not altogether unreasonable suspicion of such royal alliances as approached her throne.

The death of the two primary offenders seemed, however, to disarm her resentment, and she actually drew Arabella from her retreat, to be educated under her especial superintendence; and, after the death of Mary, affected to consider her as presumptive heiress to the crown. * It is, however, evident that the queen never had any serious intention in favour of Arabella, and that the latter was equally without the inclination to become a sovereign. With considerable intellect and cultivation, she had neither the energy, nor even the ambition, to fit her for the conflicts of political life: gentle and affectionate, she delighted in the refined pursuits of literature, in the elegant arts, which give a zest to retirement, and in the society of a few chosen friends, with whom she

* See MSS. Bethune—Arabella, then twelve years of age, was retained at court when the queen said to the French Ambassadress, "Do you see that little girl? simple as she looks, she is one day to sit in this very chair of state, and take my place."—*Life of Egerton.*

could indulge dreams of romantic felicity. Leaving to other women the career of pride and vanity, Arabella was formed only for virtuous love. In her early youth several matches were proposed for her, which had been all negatived by the queen and council. On the accession of James, she might naturally anticipate some favourable change in her situation; but she soon discovered that the kinsman of Elizabeth adhered to the principles which he had reprobated in his predecessor, and that the only part of her conduct he ever imitated was that mean suspicion, for which the peculiar circumstances of her birth suggested some palliation.

Poor and dependent, Arabella, by her guileless conduct, had succeeded in extorting some marks of favour even from King James, and many tokens of esteem from Prince Henry; when she was unfortunately induced to listen to the addresses of Mr. Seymour, a younger son of the Earl of Hertford, who, after an interval of several

years, renewed the professions he had first offered to her youthful charms. It has been justly remarked, that few women remain insensible to proofs of constancy in the other sex; and, least of all women, was Arabella capable of requiting so rare a quality with indifference. The forlornness of her situation, which had nothing of royalty but its chains, might excuse the facility with which she yielded to her lover's importunities for a clandestine marriage. She was even credulous enough to believe that the little-minded James would evince a generosity of which the great Elizabeth had been wholly incapable; but the fallacy of these expectations was demonstrated, when she saw herself separated from Seymour, who was committed to the Tower, whilst she was herself, by the intercession of Prince Henry, permitted to remain in safe custody at Highgate. After having long languished in this restraint, a feasible project was at length devised for her liberation: the friends of Seymour had provided a vessel in readiness

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to sail for France: Arabella eluded the vigilance of her guardians, and, in masculine attire, ill suited to her timid nature, flew to the appointed place. Not finding Seymour, she concluded that he had fallen into the hands of his enemies, and positively refusing to sail without her beloved husband, suffered herself to be retaken, and, in a state bordering on distraction, was conducted to the Tower, from whence she never departed.* Seymour, in the meanwhile, though equally disappointed in the expectation of meeting his wife, more rationally embraced the means of escaping to France; from whence, after Arabella's death, he was at length permitted to return, and soon solaced himself for her loss with another bride, whose eldest daughter was named after the unfortunate object of his first love.

The adventures of Arabella were protracted during several years; and long before their melancholy termination, the fate

* See the touching history of Arabella in Mr. D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature.

of Elizabeth was decided. Already, though she had scarcely reached her sixteenth year, several overtures of marriage had been made and rejected. The disposal of her hand was a subject of contention to her parents, the queen insisting that her daughter should never bestow her hand without obtaining a regal crown; the king, on the contrary, affirmed that a splendid alliance was undesirable for his daughter, though indispensable to the Prince of Wales. It is probable that Anne would ultimately have prevailed, but for two enlightened statesmen, Sir Ralph Winwood and Sir Dudley Carleton, who, by the intervention of Maurice of Nassau, induced the king's acceptance of the young Elector Palatine. It is worthy of remark, that during the king's reign this was the only measure addressed to the Protestant interests truly acceptable to the feelings of the people. It appears not, however, that James was actuated by religious zeal in sanctioning this marriage: it should rather seem, that finding his daughter's inclin-

ations harmonize with the views of his ministers, he was not displeased to purchase popularity on the easy terms of disappointing his queen, and incurring her reproaches. He calculated also on extorting money from the Parliament, in return for his concession to their principles, and anticipated, with complacency, the ascendancy which an alliance with Maurice of Nassau might ensure him with the States of Holland, which having lately redeemed the debt contracted with Queen Elizabeth, and resumed the cautionary towns surrendered to that princess, might in future not merely assert, but maintain their independence of the British empire.

To the Prince of Wales, although his opinions had never been consulted, the proposed connection was in every respect acceptable. Educated under the Duke de Bouillon, it was impossible but that the young Elector, like himself, must be a political disciple of the illustrious Henry the Fourth, and, as the ostensible chief of the

Union, might hereafter take a prominent part in vindicating the liberties of Protestant Europe. This consideration was alone sufficient to secure Henry's suffrage; and when he reflected that Frederic, on the mother's side, drew his descent from the glorious William of Nassau, he could not hesitate to prefer this prince to the son of any monarch in Europe, not even excepting the young Gustavus of Sweden. *

Finding the Prince of Wales impracticable to her wishes, the Queen appealed to her daughter's pride, whether she would like to be *stigmatized* as Goody Palsgrave; but she soon found that Elizabeth, though not indifferent to pomp and splendour, adhered to her brother's principles, since she replied, with his firmness, "I would rather espouse a Protestant Count than a Catholic Emperor." †

It was impossible but that the approach-

* It is pretended that proposals were made by this prince for Elizabeth. (See Hart's Gustavus.) Overtures were also made by the Duke of Savoy.

† Winwood.

ing separation should excite painful feelings in Henry and Elizabeth; but with the sanguine spirit of youth, they seem to have enjoyed still more intensely the brief interval that they should be permitted to spend together. There was, however, a marked difference in the manner in which the prince sometimes condescended to adopt his sister's tastes, whilst she scarcely waited for invitation to enter with ardour into his pursuits, however opposed to her ordinary occupations; ship-building and navigation having long engaged Henry's attention, she became eager to inspect the dock-yards, and was even ready to prefer a ship launch to a birth-day ball. But she gave a still more pleasing trait of sympathy, in distinguishing with kindness those who shared her brother's patronage, more especially those whom he had protected from unmerited hostility. Among these the well-known Phineas Pett *, one of the most ingenious

* Phineas Pett was born at Deptford, and, educated at a free school, had risen by his own efforts from

naval architects of his day, has left a record of the favours conferred on his wife

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indigent obscurity. In 1603, being in distress, he was advised to build a yacht for the young Prince Henry, for his own private recreation. This vessel having been finished in two months, was presented to the prince, by whom Pett was graciously received. He then worked a model, which was shown to James; after which he was generally favoured at court, until by the artifices of rival shipwrights, strong distrust was excited of his ability, and he was summoned by the Lord Admiral to answer, at a public examination, the charges preferred against him, the King, Prince of Wales, and several officers of state being present. During this mock trial, which lasted twelve hours, the shipwrights were ranged on the one side of the room, his Majesty and his officers on the other. At one o'clock his majesty called for his dinner, after which the debate was resumed, and Pett continued to debate article by article on his knees. "The dispute was begun," says Pett, "by Lord Northampton and sometimes by Baker, "sometimes by Stevens, Beight, Clay,—all ship-"wrights, sometimes confused by all, and, which was "worse, his majesty's countenance still bent on me, "so that I was almost disheartened and out of breath: "albeit, the prince's highness standing near me, from "time to time encouraged me as far as he might with-"out offence to his father, labouring to have me eased

by the Lady Elizabeth, to which he was, perhaps, the more sensible, since they were administered at a moment when he saw himself exposed to the malice of his enemies. In the sequel, Pett triumphed, and Prince Henry, whose generous heart yearned to offer reparation to his wounded feelings, induced his sister to accompany him to visit his humble abode at Woolwich, where she lavished on his wife the most cordial demonstrations of kindness. After his acquittal *, Pett was employed in build-

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" by standing up; but his majesty would not permit " it. His majesty afterwards examined the materials " which had been depreciated, declaring, the cross " grain was in the *men*, not in the *timber*."

The king continued to investigate, pretending to be competent to decide on the subject, and finally declared that the ship was right in every point, and the accusation groundless. Upon which the prince exclaimed aloud, " Where be those perjured fellows " that dare abuse the king's majesty with their false " accusations? Do they not worthily deserve hang- " ing?"

* Archæologia—11th volume.

ing a man-of-war, which was launched in the summer of 1612, a few weeks before the public announcement of Elizabeth's intended espousals ; and in this ship, called from its illustrious sponsor, the Prince, was the royal bride afterwards wafted from her native shore. Little did the princess imagine, on that day when she sat on the deck by Henry's side, in anxious expectation of a propitious tide — that she should so soon enter it bereaved of him, who had been at once the playmate, the brother, the friend of her happy childhood, almost the only being with whom she could enjoy that equality which is essential to perfectly harmonious friendship.

The sympathy in their principles and dispositions is alluded to by Donne, in the following lines, extracted from the monody on Prince Henry.

> Oh ! may I — since I live, but see or hear,
> That the intelligence which moved this sphere.
> I pardon fate, my life — whoe'er thou be
> Which hast the noble conscience, thou art she,

I conjure thee by all the charms he spoke,
By the oaths which only you two never broke,
By all the souls ye sighed, that if you see
These lines, you wish, I knew your history,
So much as you two mutual heavens were here,
I were an angel, singing what ye were!

CHAP. III.

SKETCHES OF PRINCE MAURICE OF NASSAU.—HIS SISTER.—THE GRAND PENSIONARY, BARNEVELT.—FREDERIC'S ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND.—FAVOURABLE RECEPTION.—DEATH OF PRINCE HENRY.—FREDERIC BETROTHED TO ELIZABETH.—MARRIAGE.—DEPARTURE.

From the sketch which has been already given of Frederic's education, it is evident that no plan could have been more judiciously selected for combining the advantages of the court and the college, unincumbered with the vices of the one, or the pedantry of the other. At Sedan, Frederic had not only acquired the accomplishments of a prince and a cavalier, but the manners and sentiments of a fine gentleman — and in comparing her son with other german

princes, Juliana had reason to felicitate herself on his improvement; nor was his conduct less unexceptionable than his deportment — his religious principles were consistent, his dispositions mild and affectionate, and, to complete her work, his mother had only to obtain for him an illustrious and amiable bride. This boon was also granted to her prayers, since Frederic was permitted to visit England as Elizabeth's suitor, and she could scarcely doubt of his ultimate success. That nothing, however, might be wanting to accelerate those advantageous views, he quitted Heidelberg with a truly princely suite of 420 persons, including thirty nobles, of whom twelve were of royal lineage — and a train of knights, pages, esquires, and menial attendants. For the juvenile part of this company was provided a schoolmaster — and for the whole community a chaplain, who was no other than Abraham Scultetus, afterwards unfortunately notorious at the synod of Dort. Born in Silesia, and educated

in the principles of the Hussites *, this man had originally quitted his native country, partly perhaps to avoid persecution, but chiefly, it may be presumed, to acquire fame and fortune. A happy chance directed him to Heidelberg, where his learning and eloquence attracted notice, and the strictness of his morals induced Juliana to place him near her son in the capacity of domestic chaplain, or, in other words, his spiritual director; a dangerous confidence when talents and experience concurred with an enterprizing spirit to controul the credulous youth and facile mind of Frederic. Deeply imbued with the scholastic erudition of his day, Scultetus sympathized in the dreams of certain biblical fanatics, who, by a strange combination of *astro-theological* science and superstition, extracted from the Apocalypse predictions favourable to their peculiar tenets, and boldly announced the

* The immediate descendant of the disciples of Wickliffe, with whom commenced the Reformation in Bohemia.

approaching triumph of their sect, and the downfall of the Antichrist. In Scotland, and in England, there existed several of these scholastic visionaries, already known to Scultetus by name, and with whom he eagerly anticipated the delights of personal intercourse: even without their encouragements, the minister had wrought himself into a conviction that the English alliance was destined to produce an astonishing change in the religious state of Christendom. The sight of Holland, the birthplace of liberty in modern times, was in itself sufficient to awaken enthusiasm. During fifty years this mound of earth, shored with dykes, had presented a series of revolutions unexampled in christian Europe. And in contemplating the wonders achieved in its infancy by the rising commonwealth against the navies and armies, the treasures and intrigues of Spain, even catholics would not withhold the tribute of admiration.

The aspect of this country was not more

peculiar than the system of manners and society which had insensibly superseded, or incorporated itself with ancient institutions. Here, as in Germany, the nobles preserved their hereditary rank and heraldic distinctions; but divested of those feudal prerogatives which had rendered them oppressive to other orders of the community; no serfs were here rooted to the soil, no abject vassals, no swarms of retainers. The humblest citizen challenged respect; the rustic boor was free. Of the antiquated seignories, no vestige remained, but in the immense parks which were still preserved for the favourite pastime of hunting. The crowds of lazy and superfluous domestics, that in other countries infested the halls of nobility, were here unseen, even beneath a royal roof.* Hence, habits of industry and activity were communicated to the citizen and the peasant, and throughout the community prevailed a spirit of perseverance and independence, a rational and laudable am-

* Howell's Letters.

bition, which stimulated to enterprise, inspired patriotism, and ensured its recompence.

The formation of this novel system of policy was, however, rather to be ascribed to accident, than to profound political speculations. It was a glorious experiment; but whether it should eventually succeed, was a question time only could determine. In the federative union of the states, each of which retained its own laws and prescriptive privileges, there was evidently a want of compactness, of harmony, and unity, so essential to a republican government. That hitherto these defects had been undiscovered was to be ascribed to the extraordinary men who presided in the republic. The grand pensionary of Holland, who watched over the popular interests, was John Barnevelt, the contemporary, the friend, the coadjutor of William of Nassau, and the protector of his son, who by his efforts in opposition to French and English intrigues had been placed at the head of the republic,

whilst Barnevelt still retained his office, and the confidence of his fellow citizens, living with patriarchal simplicity surrounded by his friends and his children. Faithfully devoted to his country, he had lately set the seal to national independence, by redeeming from the British government the cautionary towns which had been given in pledge for the sums lent by Elizabeth. Exulting in this consummation of his labours, the patriot lived in peace, delighted with the rising talents of Hugo Grotius, honouring Louisa de Coligny, loving her son Henry Frederic, and wishing well even to Maurice, (of whose ambitious views he was, however, fully aware,) for the services he had rendered to the Commonwealth.

It was Barnevelt who had detected in this prince, when only eighteen years of age, the qualities of a chief and a statesman. The result justified his predictions. Maurice equalled his father as a military commander; as a politician, surpassed him; as the high-minded patriot, the magnanimous

christian, he was inferior, or rather utterly dissimilar. Born and educated in the school of adversity, he had early acquired lessons of caution and distrust never to be eradicated. Like his grandfather, Maurice of Saxony, he descended to simulation when it accorded with his views; and under the semblance of a frank and careless nature, disguised the most subtle policy and unmeasurable ambition. It is but just to add, that if he sympathized not in his father's chivalrous sentiments, he was no less exemplary in his domestic affections; separated from his elder brother, he afterwards voluntarily restored to him the estates which had been thirty years in his occupation; to his uterine sister, Emilia, he was a paternal protector, till she incurred his displeasure by marrying the son of king Antonio of Portugal, an expatriated prince, to whom nothing remained of his paternal rights but the religion which Maurice and his sister equally rejected. On this occasion, Maurice evinced the kindness of his nature

by readmitting Emilia to favour, for her sake even receiving as a brother the prince Emanuel, to whom he allotted a maintenance suitable to his birth, without attempting to establish him in any department of the state, for which, as a papist, he was by law disqualified. If with Emilia he acted with generosity to Henry Frederic his younger brother, he performed a father's part, and nobly fulfilled the promise he had made to Louisa de Coligny, in adopting him as his only son. In the spirit of a German Prince, he not only refused to marry, lest he should prejudice his brother's interest in the state, but even refused to legitimate two sons sprung from a clandestine connexion, to whose mother he was faithfully attached, and who had signalized their valour in the wars of the republic.

Hitherto the character of Maurice has been contemplated in its fairest phasis. Success had crowned his efforts; that which his father had begun was by him completed;

that which others had attempted it was reserved for him to achieve. By him and Barnevelt the cause of humanity and freedom had prevailed: the independence of the republic was established; its flag triumphed in every quarter of the globe. But however delightful might be this reflection to the patriotism of Barnevelt, it satisfied not the ambitious mind of Maurice, who, though born in Holland, inherited the aristocratic feelings of a Prince of Orange; recollecting that his ancestors had enjoyed almost absolute sovereignty over one of the finest provinces of the new confederacy, he scorned to owe to the States a delegated and precarious authority.* In his mind the passion for ancestry prevailed over all the glorious associations derived from the founders of a republic. To aggrandize the House of Nassau was his real aim, and to vest in it an hereditary and

* See Mémoires du Maurier. Brandt Le Vassor, Histoire du Regne de Louis Treize.

legitimate sovereignty the ultimate end of his labours. Sensible that unless Barnevelt co-operated, this plan could not be realized without considerable difficulty, he authorized Louisa Coligny to propose to the grand pensionary the measure he had long contemplated, and to offer him any dignity he might challenge for a recompence. Barnevelt listened without surprise to the proposition, explained his objections, and with them pronounced his negative, protesting that the completion of the design would ultimately involve in ruin the prince and the republic. Convinced by his arguments, Louisa hastened to impart them to Maurice, on whose mind they produced a far different impression; but, concealing his resentment, he exclaimed, "It is all well!" and dismissed the conversation with a look afterwards too painfully recalled to her remembrance. *

Regretting that he had ever confided in

* Maurier.

Barnevelt, Maurice dissembled his resentment, and sought only to lull the suspicions which his overture must have awakened. On his part, Barnevelt appears to have been unchanged; but his patriotism was now attributed by Maurice to suspicion, his magnanimity to malice, and his uprightness to obliquity. The conclusion of the truce with Spain in 1609, by circumscribing the authority of the Commander-in-chief, increased his enmity to Barnevelt: even the redemption of the debt incurred by the States to Elizabeth, and the restoration of the cautionary towns which had been pledged for its repayment, which was also effected by Barnevelt, obtained not his approbation. To accomplish his original design was now an object in which his pride and ambition were equally interested; it was a trial of skill, that, like his favourite game of chess, absorbed his faculties *. No longer confining himself to sound national policy, he diverged into the

* The prince was always dejected if he lost a game at chess.—Du Maurier.

speculations of the Duke de Bouillon, and, like him, began to construct a new series of calculations on his youthful nephew, the Elector Palatine, whose projected marriage appeared to yield him more satisfaction than any recent triumph obtained by the republic.

To the politics of Maurice or Barnevelt, it is not probable, either Scultetus or Frederic lent attention; but the minister was attracted by a controversy which had begun to shed its poison on this once happy people. These unhappy commotions originated in the discourses of Arminius, formerly professor in the University of Leyden, a man of exemplary goodness, who had lived in literary retirement till he became distinguished as a popular preacher; when in a series of discourses, delivered expressly to elucidate the doctrines of Calvin, he incidentally advanced opinions essentially different from the famous Catechism of Heidelberg.* For this aber-

* It is deplorable to reflect that these commotions should have arisen among a people who had struggled

ration he was vehemently attacked by one Gomar, another student, who tenaciously adhered to the old explanation. Too enlightened to be a bigot, and naturally averse to controversy, Arminius was at first unwilling to pursue the contest; but the acrimonious zeal of Gomar allowed him no other alternative. He replied, his antagonist rejoined, partisans enlisted on either side; and thus insensibly the dispute increased, till, by the misguided zeal of the alarmists

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for religious freedom. The rights of enquiry assumed in one instance could not, without palpable injustice, be refused in any other. And the vigorous attack of Luther on Papistical despotisms, should for ever have secured the Christian world from any new pretenders to unity and infallibility, words of fatal import in the lips of erring and fallible men: but it soon appeared that a part of the old system was retained by the reformed, and in it the principles of that domination which had rendered the yoke of Rome insupportable. Even in the States of Holland this chimera of unity and infallibility, derived from dark times and corrupt precedents, produced consequences repugnant to humanity and justice, which indirectly had an intimate connection with the fortunes of the Palatine family.

and fanatics of the age, it was forced on the attention of the States, by whose command it was brought before a Synod held at Rotterdam. As this assembly was composed of the clergy, they declared for the old and orthodox exposition; and consequently Arminius had no resource but to appeal to the grand council, in which statesmen and civilians and honourable patriots presided; and where, as he had foreseen, he was exonerated from the schism imputed to him by his adversaries. With respect to the doctrines, they contented themselves with reporting to the States that the controversy turned on abstruse points, in which neither the government nor the people had any interest. Shortly after, Arminius died as he had lived, to exemplify the Christian virtues, with peace in his soul and charity on his lips. But the controversy was not buried with him: exasperated by defeat, Gomar renewed the attack; and, unfortunately, a disciple of Arminius, the learned Vorstius, who, though virtuous, was not equally forbear-

ing, published an elaborate defence of the Arminian doctrine, which drew the attention of all the theologians in Europe, and more especially of King James, by whom it was rejected with an acrimony not inferior to that which Henry the Eighth had displayed in repelling Luther; nor did the monarch rest till having consigned the book to the flames in England, he required of the States to inflict punishment on its author. *

In the meanwhile, the Arminians, in their own defence, drew up articles of their belief, which they presented, with a remonstrance, to the States: their opponents replied by other articles, and the names of remonstrants and contra-remonstrants designated either party. In the progress of the contest, several men of eminent attainments, who had hitherto paid no attention to theological subjects, but who could no longer avoid giving their suffrage to one of these belligerent parties, espoused the cause

* See Carleton's Letters.

of the remonstrants. In this number were Utenbogard, the chaplain of the princess dowager, the princess herself, and the two greatest men the States had ever produced, the venerable Barnevelt and the young, but already celebrated, Grotius. It was, however, but too evident that a great majority, including all the credulous, the mercenary, and indifferent, declared for their adversaries.

In conformity to the spirit of that age, a schism in the national faith was deprecated as the most awful calamity: even Hugo Grotius countenanced this opinion; to which the powerful mind of Barnevelt alone rose superior, and, though dissenting from their tenets, he demanded for the Arminians the rights of toleration. No sooner had this great patriot openly protected the remonstrants, than Maurice of Nassau began closely to observe the movements of the belligerent parties; nor was he displeased that James, who had lately intruded into this dispute, by writing against Vorstius,

now peremptorily demanded from the States that he should be suspended from his office. As the sentiments of Scultetus coincided with those of Gomar and his partizans, he could not but draw a favourable presage from the zeal which had been manifested by the British monarch, and was perhaps scarcely less eager than the bridegroom elect to quit the Batavian shore.

On the 16th of October the Elector embarked in a splendid yacht, with an adverse wind, which, it was remarked, became suddenly propitious; "a manifest sign," says a contemporary journalist, "that the expedition was well pleasing to God."* The next day Frederic found himself at Gravesend, where Sir Lewis Falkenor, the inde-

* Much of this account is extracted from a German quarto printed in 1613, intituled, "Reiss der Empfahlung dess ritterlichen ordem vol bringung des Heyraths, und glucklicher Heimfuhrung Wie auch der anselnlichen Einfuhrung, gehaltener Ritterspiel und Fruedenfests, des Durchleuchligsten. Hochgebornen Fursten und Herrn, Hernn Friederichen dess Funften Pfalsgraven bey Rhein. Anno 1623."

fatigable master of the ceremonies (an officer new to the British court), was in readiness to conduct the prince to the Ship Inn, in which apartments, royally garnished with tapestry, were prepared for his reception. Here he was permitted to rest till the next day, when the Lord Hay (afterwards Viscount Doncaster, so often employed in puerile embassies, and notorious for his pomp and finery), arrived to offer excuses and compliments. On the following morning he was assailed with a pressing invitation from James, presented by no less a personage than the Duke of Lenox *, the veteran courtier, who had been the king's juvenile favourite, and, though long since superseded by less ho-

* Esme Stuart, Duke of Lenox, suspected of Catholicism in his youth, the personal favourite of James, but never interfering with political affairs, for which he possessed no ability. After his death, his daughter Elizabeth took the liberty of marrying to please herself, without consulting the reigning monarch, Charles the First, who, following the arbitrary maxims of his predecessors, committed her husband to the Tower.

nourable men, still retained his esteem and confidence. After regaling this nobleman with all the luxuries of his inn, Frederic embarked with a train of cavaliers in a royal barge, and had the satisfaction to discover that his approach was neither indifferent nor unwelcome to the British people who lined the banks of the river, or crowded in boats, to catch the first glimpse of the Protestant Prince who was to espouse the fair Elizabeth. When he passed the Tower, he was royally saluted, and the spectators assembled in such crowds, that the elector, says his journalist, in spite of the cold raw wind, was constrained to sit with all the windows open for their gratification. At length the barge touched at Whitehall, and on the stairs leading to the shore, Frederic was welcomed by Prince Charles, then in his eleventh year, and by him conducted through rows of courtiers and their retainers to the superb hall in which the king and queen, prince and princess, were assem-

bled.* It was a critical moment for Frederic, conscious that he was exposed to rigid scrutiny, to find himself in the presence of the lady to whose favour he aspired, but whose charms might not awaken love, and by whom he might be rejected: he advanced, however, without trepidation towards James, with grace to Queen Anne, with frankness to the Prince, and with a degree of elegance to the Lady Elizabeth. Under such circumstances to have preserved self possession was no mean praise. His stature and carriage satisfied the ladies; and those who had been most anxious to create a prejudice against the marriage, were forced to admit that the Count Palatine was in person unexceptionable, and that nothing was wanting but that he should exchange the electoral coronet for a regal diadem.

The first audience being over, Frederic was conducted to apartments prepared for him in St. James's palace. In the first interview,

* Winwood's Memorials.

he had scarcely exchanged a glance with his mistress; but the following day he not only met all the royal family with familiar cordiality in the gallery at Whitehall; but was allowed to pay a private visit to Elizabeth, who still resided under Lord Harrington's protection. Nothing was talked or thought of but amusement — and with all, but the queen and her Spanish friends, the elector was become a favourite: the king avowed his partiality, the prince more ardently expressed satisfaction, Elizabeth allowed him all modest maidenly encouragement; and her ladies soon discovered that, though by his graceful and discreet carriage he had conciliated the whole court, it was in her society only that he delighted.* The third day after her arrival she invited him to *a solemn supper*, after which was a play or rather a masque, since to Frederic, an English composition would have been wholly unintelligible. The youthful pair

* Winwood.

already discovered, that it was very pleasant to meet familiarly at the hours of repast without ceremony or restraint. Lord and Lady Harrington were anxious to promote a marriage that promised fair for the Protestant interest, and Elizabeth's young female attendants, among whom one most distinguished as her favourite, Anne Dudley, openly advocated the elector's pretensions, whence it was justly to be inferred, that they understood the inclinations of their mistress. The civic feast at Guildhall on Lord Mayor's day *, however superb, was pro-

* In the German quarto before alluded to is a copious description of the civic solemnities.—"First went "the mayor in a stately barge, followed by an incredi- "ble number of boats to Whitehall — where, having "taken an oath of fealty to the king; he was by him "created a knight after which he returned by water. "Several officers of state preceded the mayor on "their way to Guildhall chamber. The various com- "panies walked in procession, clad in scarlet robes "and armed with swords and shields—the procession "was enlivened by pictures or pageants, one of which "represented the fine arts, another the whole series of "British monarchs."

bably less acceptable to Frederic than the solemn supper, or unceremonious dinner he had partaken with Elizabeth. The wooing of royal personages is proverbially dull and cold; but the young elector, to the unspeakable delight of the ladies, betrayed the symptoms of genuine love — nor was this surprising, since the object of his pursuit possessed beauty and accomplishments to satisfy a more fastidious taste. — Her form, though well proportioned, was light and graceful; sprightliness and dignity were blended in her movements. There was an intelligent language in her eyes; the glow of life, of hope, and happiness, was diffused over her countenance. There were many contemporary princesses more beautiful, some not less accomplished; but none, who like her passed alternately from sportiveness to enthusiasm, or so happily united simplicity to embellishment. Although well educated, she could not be called studious, like the daughter of Henry the Eighth — she aspired not to the graces of the un-

happy Mary Stuart; nor had she the pensive elegance of her persecuted cousin, Arabella. Elizabeth affected not to be either a wit, a scholar, or a musician — and it was her all prevailing charm, that she spoke and looked without premeditation, personifying youth in all its airiness, and buoyancy, and susceptibility of enjoyment. When she sprung upon her palfrey it was like a nymph, when she followed the chace, it was with an air of romantic triumph. With all this vivacity of character, Elizabeth was not incapable of serious reflection, her religious principles were deeply rooted — she had been fortified by her brother's opinions, and it appears probable they had in some degree influenced her conduct, since she seldom exhibited her person in the court masques like her volatile mother — never invited Frederic to a ball during his visit to England. It was Elizabeth alone who could have compensated to the elector, for the various chagrins and solicitudes that attended his residence in the English courts. The queen withdrew not

her opposition to the match, and he learnt from Schomberg, his chamberlain and confidant, that his dignity was not appreciated by the nobility — and that the motley group of his attendants including men and boys, with their reverend preceptor, the various officers of his kitchen — their foreign usages and national prejudices, rather excited derision than inspired respect in the opulent citizens of London; and whilst Abraham Scultetus attached himself exclusively to a knot of theologians, Count Schomberg, more zealous than politic, boldly maintained, that the Elector was superior to the Queen's brother, Christian King of Denmark, inasmuch as he was entitled to take precedence of a greater monarch, the King of Bohemia. The dispute was reported to the queen, who resented the disparagement of her brother. But her attention was soon called from that subject by the fatal illness of the Prince of Wales, for whom she certainly felt more affection, or at least testified more sorrow, than her consort. At the

commencement of Henry's malady no danger was apprehended by Elizabeth; but her anxiety once alarmed, was never to be appeased, and, according to the German Journalist, she had no consolation but in the sympathising tenderness of Frederic, who was every evening privately admitted to her presence. The influence of a common grief is well known to be as potent in softening enmity as in confirming attachments: even Anne was touched with the genuine feeling evinced by the Elector Palatine; whilst James, having been apprised of certain sinister rumours which prevailed, respecting his indifference to the marriage, two days after Henry's death publicly declared that he should consider Frederic as sent by God, to console him for the son he had lost, and that he wished him in future to be lodged, like his two surviving children, within the walls of his own palace. For this attention, Frederic was not alone indebted to the good offices of his fair mistress, but to the suggestions of Archbishop Abbot and other

zealous Protestants, who urged the necessity of concluding a marriage more than ever desired by the people. For the king's indulgence, however obtained, Frederic had sufficient reason to be grateful, since etiquette forbade the royal family to admit any visitor until after the funeral; and it was only when placed under the same roof, that the prince could be allowed to share the sorrows of his beloved, to whom he was inexpressibly endeared by the reflection, that he had been preferred to every other suitor by her lamented brother. During their seclusion from the world, she discovered in her destined husband so many amiable qualities, and received from him so many proofs of tender regard, that she had no longer any hesitation in fulfilling an engagement which was confirmed by mutual esteem and sincere affection. The king having promised that the marriage should be solemnised as soon as the elector was sufficiently familiar with the English language to perform his part in the ceremony, he applied

with redoubled diligence to that study, in which, it may fairly be presumed, Elizabeth was his best instructress.

In the meanwhile the corpse of the lamented Prince of Wales, after three progressive removals from the chamber in which he had breathed his last, was, on the 7th of December, interred in Westminster Abbey with unexampled pomp and magnificence. Of this gorgeous pageant nothing perhaps was so truly impressive as the air of sadness universally pervading the spectators, and that expression of heartfelt sorrow, which, more than the martial ranks, the sable plumes, or glimmering torches, imparted to the spectacle an affecting and almost awful solemnity. In the mournful procession, which lasted from morn till evening, Frederic, attended by twelve nobles, marched after Prince Charles, and was himself the distinguished object of popular sympathy. Bereaved of their idolized prince, the nation seemed to transfer to Elizabeth a por-

tion of the enthusiasm that had been consecrated to Henry; and, for her sake, the Palsgrave, though a stranger, was adopted to their hearts, and cherished as one of their native princes.

From this period the Palatine party continued rapidly to increase; and, either from inclination or policy, the King thought proper to lavish honours on his son-in-law elect. No time was lost in conferring on him the Order of the Garter, with which he was privately invested at Whitehall, with as much ceremony as decency permitted. Independent of the honour attached to this ornament of knighthood, its value was enhanced to Frederic by the presence of his mistress, who, clad in mourning weeds, had privately witnessed the ceremony from a balcony prepared for her accommodation. Deeply enamoured of chivalry, the youthful princess no sooner saw her lover habited in the blue vest, with the medallion of St. George suspended from the shoulder, than she issued

from her retreat, eager to be the first to wish him joy and prosperity, and little suspecting that she was hereafter to occasion the principal misfortunes of his life.

Not satisfied with these demonstrations of affection, the King, who seemed to imagine nothing could be so interesting to his courtiers as the subject of marriage, announced a public betrothment of the royal parties, a ceremony which, on the 27th of December, was duly celebrated, evidently in imitation of the custom of the French court; but, with far less elegance and propriety. From this spectacle, the queen chose to absent herself on the plea of indisposition, which was, however, with reason ascribed to her aversion to the connection. The scene chosen on this occasion was the audience chamber: in the centre of that spacious apartment was erected a throne under a superb canopy of gold and blue tapestry, in which was wrought a picture of the Spanish Armada, representing the glorious victory of 1588, and en-

circled by portraits of the chiefs and warriors of Elizabeth's illustrious reign. To this apartment Frederic was conducted by Sir Lewis Falkener, where he found the King, the Prince of Wales, and his lovely bride, surrounded by the fairest ladies of the court.

The King sat in state, whilst the Archbishop of Canterbury conducted the youthful couple to a recess something like an oratory, in front of the throne; the Latin secretary, Sir Thomas Leake then proceeded to repeat to each, in French, the form of betrothment *, which was precisely such as the ordinance of marriage. The mutual responses were no sooner given, than each presented a hand to the other; the prince saluted his bride, the archbishop pronounced his benediction, and a loud

* Je Frederic, prens à femme toi, Elizabeth, à l'avoir et tenir des ce jourdhuy à jamais, pour bonne pour mauvaise, pour riche pour pauvre, en santé et en maladie, t'aimer et cherir jusqu' à la mort, selon la saincte ordonnance de Dieu.—*Journal.*

amen was re-echoed from the numerous assembly. Congratulations succeeded, whilst, the Duke of Lenox not trusting to a man of Sir Lewis Falkener's inferior rank, to comprehend the mysteries of etiquette, whispered to Frederic that he must still cede to the Princess the right hand; and, thus admonished, the bridal pair, arm in arm, quitted the apartment. From thence they proceeded to chapel, where they were edified with a sermon, by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, in which the reverend prelate expatiated on the auspicious choice of the day: namely, the 27th of December, on which many other illustrious events had been happily consummated. The sermon being ended, dinner was served in the council chamber, where the King presided; and, as decorum allowed not of any public festivity, he endeavoured to compensate for this deprivation by alternately repeating his own jokes, and exercising the capacity of his son-in-law, with whose knowledge

and judgment in theology, he professed himself to be well satisfied.

No sooner was the elector recognised as a member of the Royal Family, than he proposed an interchange of friendly gifts on new-year's day. This old custom since the accession of James had been abolished; but it flattered the pride of Frederic to seize the opportunity to display to the British court his wealth and liberality. The proposition was accepted; and, on the morning of the 1st of January, 1613 *, when the royal party, not without lively sensations of curiosity, assembled to exchange mutual congratulations, the Palsgrave first produced two drinking-bowls of jasper and of agate, which he presented to the king; a coronet of diamonds for the Queen; a superb carcanet for the Princess Elizabeth, a tiara for her head, and, above all, the pledge of love, the ring †; to the Prince

* Winwood.

† Winwood states, that Frederic had also presented to Lord and Lady Harrington, plate valued at two

Charles, a dagger and a rapier splendidly enriched with diamonds. In return he received from the King, a rapier surmounted with diamonds; from the Queen a few choice jewels; from Elizabeth, who already shewed she was for him greedy of honour, a portrait of St. George set in gold and precious stones, and a highly ornamented band of the order of the Garter; from Prince Charles, who would not be outdone in liberality, a costly diadem, and a curious ring, inclosing a miniature resemblance of King James magnificently set in diamonds. Frederic had no reason to be dissatisfied with the reception given to his presents; at the dinner-table were produced the bowls from which the king not only took repeated potations, but solemnly pledged

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thousand pounds. He made liberal donations to all her women, but to Anne Dudley, Elizabeth's favourite, he gave a chain of pearls and diamonds, valued at five hundred pounds. On Elizabeth he had lavished in jewels alone, 35,000*l*.

the health of his son-in-law. The blue ribands naturally called the King's attention to the subject of the Garter; and, in the exultation of his heart, he declared he would hold a solemn chapter at Windsor in the ensuing month, to which Prince Henry of Orange should be invited. The resolution was loudly applauded by the courtiers, on whom it imposed additional expence, and secretly relished by the queen, whose love of pageantry neither sorrow nor anger could extinguish. To enhance her gratification, she saw also her son Charles admitted to the solemnity; and, however inimical she had originally been to the Palsgrave as her daughter's husband, she insensibly became attached to his person, and signified her gracious intention to assist at the public celebration of the marriage.

To those who cherished the memory of the prince so lately lost, so fondly deplored, it might seem extraordinary, that his parents should be occupied with frivolous entertainments; but without reverting to this

artificial pageantry which generally excludes the tender affections of nature, policy dictated to James, that he should continue to testify his satisfaction in an alliance obviously most acceptable to the people. Never before had equal enthusiasm been manifested for any nuptial festivity. The progress of civilization during the last century, or rather the ripening of a national character was distinctly marked in the active participation which was in a manner claimed by the gentry, the citizens, and above all, the young students of the temple in their sovereign's choice of a son-in-law. Formerly, spectacles had been exhibited by the sovereign to amuse or propitiate his subjects; but now, it was the subjects who conveyed an intimation of their sentiments, by the magnificence with which they felicitated the sovereign. The court masques, produced under the royal superintendance, were far inferior to those exhibited by the students of Gray's Inn; but the gifts of the Lord

Mayor to the princess far exceeded any tribute she received from a noble donor.

The chapter of the Garter was held at Windsor, previous to the arrival of the Prince of Nassau, who reached England with a splendid retinue just in time to officiate as brideman to the Elector Palatine. The marriage was fixed for the 14th of February, partly, perhaps if not chiefly, for the agreeable legendary associations suggested by Valentine's day. * The nuptial entertain-

* Donne and Daniel and other poets, found in it a most convenient key note for pretty fancies. The following inharmonious lines are evidently suggested by the political anticipations which at that time rested on Elizabeth and Frederic :—

" Thy happy bridegroom, Prince Count Palatine,
Now thy best friend, and truest Valentine,
Upon whose brow my mind doth read the story
Of mighty fame and a true future glory.
Methinks I do foresee already how
Princes and monarchs at his stirrup bow;
I see him shine in steel, the bloody field's
Already won, and soon his proud foe yields.
God hath ordained him happiness great store,
And yet in nothing is he happy more

ments preceding the ceremony, commenced with a grand exhibition of fire-works at Whitehall on the 11th, and with a naval fight on the 13th, in which was introduced a distressed damsel according to the old style of chivalry and the exploded pastimes of Henry the VIIIth. The next morning was ushered in with ringing of bells, and the discharge of guns; and at an early hour was Elizabeth attired in a gorgeous robe of white and silver studded with diamonds, on her head she wore a crown of gold, her long hair floating on her shoulders; but in those beautiful tresses, pearls and diamonds were elaborately interwoven, worn with

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Than in thy love, fair princess; for unless
Heaven, like to man, be prone to fickleness,
Thy fortunes must be greater in effect
Than time makes show of, or men dare expect.
Yet notwithstanding all those goods of fate,
Thy mind shall ever be above thy state;
For over and above thy proper merit,
Our lost Eliza grants her noble spirit
To be redoubled on thee; and your name
Being both one, shall give you both one fame

more magnificence than good taste * ; and as she passed through the covered gallery to the chapel, her voluminous train was borne by thirteen young ladies all dressed in white, with flowing tresses. From hence, she walked between the venerable Lord Admiral (the Earl of Nottingham), and her brother, Prince Charles; the former was still popular as the hero of the Spanish Armada which formed the subject of the tapestry that covered the walls and floors of the edifice prepared for the nuptial solemnities. Over the altar were suspended three pieces of tapestry, of which the central piece represented Peter and John healing the sick —

* " It were no end," says Chamberlayne, " to write " of the curiosities and excess of bravery both of men " and women, with the extreme daubings on of the " cost. Lady Wotton had a gown that cost fifty " pounds a yard the embroidery. The Lord Montague " bestowed fifteen hundred pounds in apparel on his " two daughters. The Prince Charles, the bridegroom, " the princess, dined in a room built on purpose for " the marriage. The Spaniard was, or affected to be " sick; the Archduke's ambassador made an excuse." —*Winwood's Memorials*, vol. iii.

on the right side the good shepherd, and on the left the marriage of Cana.

On one side of the altar stood the Bishop of Bath and Wells; and Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, the steady friend and promoter of the marriage, on the other. Frederic had already arrived, conducted by Prince Henry of Nassau and the Duke of Lenox, and attended by several English and German nobles, among whom was his confident and chamberlain, Count Schomberg. The elector was much more tastefully dressed than his bride: having added to the decoration of the George and Garter a Spanish hat and mantle. "In "his English part," says Winwood, "he "performed reasonably well." The service was somewhat tedious. After a sermon by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, on the institution of marriage, there was a long prayer; to this succeeded a hymn. The espousals were then performed; and it may be observed, that the nuptial vow was the same to both parties; each was

pledged to love, to cherish, and to honour the other, but obedience was never named. The nuptial benediction was given by the archbishop; and it is by several writers observed, that, towards the close of the ceremony, *certain coruscations of joy* appeared in Elizabeth's face, which were afterwards supposed to be sinister presages of her misfortunes.* No sooner had the bridal pair quitted the altar, than wine and spices were presented. The herald-at-arms proclaimed their titles; and all quitted the chapel as quickly as etiquette permitted. The princess, escorted by the Admiral, and the Duke of Lenox, received, with her wonted ease, the respectful congratulations of the nobility; but gladly withdrew to divest herself of her cumbersome robe, for which was substituted a more becoming dress. In the meanwhile, the trumpets summoned to dinner, which was prepared in the great hall for fifty-two guests, inclu-

* See note at end of the volume.

ding Prince Henry of Nassau, all of whom remained three live-long hours at the table. In the evening was presented a ballet prepared by Lord Hay, founded on the subject of Orpheus; but pronounced too long by several hours. According to Winwood, the same objection applied to almost every entertainment produced on the occasion, with the exception of the two masques presented by the students of Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple. *

* "The Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn gave great contentment on Monday night, as much by their graceful coming on horseback, as in all the rest of their apt invention, apparel, and fashion; and especially their excellent dancing, wherewith the king was so much delighted, that he gave them thanks and commendations. But the next day Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple had not the same fortune, though they deserved no less for striving to vary from their competitors. And their device being, the marrying of the Thames to the Rhine, they made choice to go by water to Westminster, from thence to Southwark, with their boats and barges exceedingly well trimmed, and furnished with store of lights that made a glorious shew; and three peals of ordnance at the taking water, at the passing by the temple, and at their landing

Amidst a succession of luxurious entertainments, the king often betrayed weariness, and the queen ill humour; and, whenever this occurred, she vented her spleen in addressing her daughter by the appellation of Goody Palsgrave. For slights such as these Elizabeth might somewhat be consoled by the splendid testimonial of regard she received

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which passage by water cost better than three hundred pounds. But when they were landed at the court, by what mischance I know not, they were fain to return, or they went without doing any thing; — the reason whereof, some say was because the hall was so full, that it could not be avoided, nor room made for them, and most of the principal ladies to see them land were excluded; but the most probable is, that the king was so saturated with overwatching, that he could hold out no longer, so was driven to put it off till Saturday, — when it was very well performed in the new banquetting house, which, for some amends, was granted to them, though with much repining and contradiction. The next day, the king made them all a noble supper in the new marriage room, and used them so well and graciously, that he sent both parties away well pleased with those great solemnities. There was no creation of knights or nobles, the reason whereof is diversly interpreted."—*Winwood's Memorials*, vol. iii.

from the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who presented her with a chain of pearls, valued at two thousand pounds. Nor had Frederic any reason to complain of neglect. In a visit to Cambridge, in which he was accompanied by James, he was not a little flattered by the honourable mention of Heidelberg. The University of Oxford also lavished on him civilities; but amidst all these courtesies, the fickleness, or improvidence of James inflicted on the bridal pair a most severe mortification. Towards the end of March, the Palatine household was suddenly broken up, and two thirds of the attendants unceremoniously dismissed, on the flimsy pretence that they would be too numerous, when combined with the suite with which Elizabeth was to quit England. This was confessedly a most ungracious procedure, and "the Lady Eliza-"beth took it most grievously," says Winwood, "as well she might, but that neces-"sity has no law." To soften, or, if possible, disguise the inhospitality, the king

presented his son-in-law with a specimen of English tilting, " in which," observes Wotton, " in despite of a wet day, and the dis- " grace of their plumes, the gallants per- " formed nobly."

The next day Frederic and Elizabeth visited the Tower, when the young Electress, to show that she emulated the courage of the late queen, insisted on herself applying the match to the great cannon, which was to be discharged in honour of this event; and to the surprise of the bystanders, appeared to enjoy the explosion.* All her gaiety of spirits scarcely availed, however, to conceal her chagrin, when she discovered that Lord Harrington's long-standing claims for her maintenance were not recompensed; and, to the disgrace of James, they were finally commuted, for the mischievous privilege of issuing a brass coinage.†

With still more keenness did she feel the contemptuous rejection of her consort's ap-

* German Journal.

† Winwood's Memorials, 3d vol.

plication in behalf of Lord Gray, who, on suspicion of having transmitted a verbal message to the Lady Arabella Stuart, had been committed to the Tower. In reply to the Elector's intercession, James had gravely observed, that if he came to Heidelberg he should not interfere with his government. Too young not to be tenacious of his dignity, Frederic complained that the king treated him rather like a page than a son; and Elizabeth, who sympathised in his feelings, was unable to remove the grievance. There was also an everlasting vacillation respecting the number and quality of her attendants *; but on this subject she seems to have been passive, having secured the solace of Lady Harrington's presence, the society of her young favourite, Anne Dudley, and the attendance of her preceptor, Dr. Chapman. It was notorious, that the royal treasury was exhausted, and that 140,000*l.* † had been expended on the espousals, a sum which trebled the bridal portion.

* Winwood. † 40,000*l.* Rapin.

Want of money always soured the temper of James; and his capricious affections were suddenly withdrawn from the youthful pair in whose happiness he had lately appeared to sympathise: yet, with the inconsistency that marked every measure in his reign, Elizabeth, though dismissed as an outcast from his court, was to be magnificently convoyed by a squadron of seven ships, commanded by no less a personage, than the hero of the Armada, the Lord Admiral (the Earl of Nottingham), whose last naval service was to waft her from the British shore.

In the meanwhile, James and Anne, either to beguile the painful sensations incident to a solemn parting, or to conceal from the world their indifference to a daughter so generally beloved, accompanied Elizabeth and Frederic to Rochester, in their way to Margate, the place of embarkation.* The two preceding days had been spent in the

* Winwood.

comparative seclusion of Greenwich; to which, however, myriads of citizens were continually pouring from the metropolis, to catch a last look of the beloved princess, and to address a parting benediction. On the 13th of April the royal party proceeded leisurely to Rochester, whose mayor presented the prince with a gilt cup, in testimony of their respect. The next morning they spent in visiting the ships and dock-yards, though it was the last day they were to see each other. At noon the queen decorously took leave of her daughter, choosing to dine in her own apartment, either because she was really visited with some maternal regrets, or had good taste enough to affect the feeling she did not possess. With more cordiality, James partook of dinner with his daughter, and then quietly dismissed her with his blessing. In bidding him farewell, Elizabeth wept without control, whilst Frederic soothed her griefs, and her brother was permitted to attend her to Canterbury, where the elec-

tor and herself were received with extraordinary honours, and lodged in the dean's palace several days; during which Prince Charles never quitted them. At length they separated from him also, to pursue their journey to Margate, where they were unwillingly detained by an adverse wind; "the "princess being thus taught," says Wotton, "that she is not exempted by her high rank "from the caprices of fortune." During this detention, much persuasion was employed to prevent her sailing in the Prince Royal *

* The Prince Royal carried 54 guns, and accommodated 600 men. On board this ship, exclusive of the Elector and his consort, and the Lord Admiral, were Lord and Lady Harrington and their suite. The Vice-Admiral, Governor Effingham, hoisted his flag in the Royal Anne, in which embarked the Duke of Lenox, the first royal commissioner. In the third of the squadron, the Assurance, was the second commissioner, the Earl of Arundel, accompanied by his Countess and suite; and it should be observed, that each of these noble consorts was attended by two young ladies of quality, corresponding with pages of honour. The fourth and fifth ships were the Repulse and the Red Lion, and in these were lodged, Viscount Lisle and General Cecil, the other commissioners. In the sixth, called the

Royal, to which certain sinister accidents had occurred since it was launched at Woolwich under the auspices of her brother. But Elizabeth rejected this suggestion with characteristic firmness, either because she conceived it to flow from envy to Phineas Pett, or because she almost fancied she should, in that bark, be under her beloved Henry's approving guidance.

Among her English attendants were some of the most enlightened and amiable personages of the age. Of this class were the Earl of Arundel, well known for his classical researches, and his Countess, a daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury. The brave General Sir Edward Cecil, a grandson of Lord Burleigh, was still more acceptable to Elizabeth's taste. The Vice-Admiral Lord Effingham and the Lord Admiral were heroes

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Destiny, was Dr. Martin, the legal commissioner; in the seventh, the Rear-Admiral, was Mr. Levin Monk, the sixth commissioner. After these followed many smaller vessels.—*German Journal.*

and courtiers of the old school. But the principal solace of the princess in departing for a foreign country, was to be found in her own domestic circle, composed of the Harringtons, and their amiable niece, Anne Dudley, afterwards the wife of Count Schomberg. There were also in her suite two or three charming little girls, who were to be formed in her court; one of whom, a Mistress Apsley, continued in her service several years, and participated in her various fortunes.

At length the party embarked, but it was only to return to Margate, to escape an impending storm; and so little was the safety of Elizabeth regarded at court, that, whilst the queen commenced a progress, the king betook himself to Theobald's, where he resumed his ordinary pastimes with augmented delight. At this moment, when she appeared to be renounced, if not forgotten, at home, how grateful was the attention evinced by Maurice of Nassau, in sending from Flushing a pilot boat, and Professor

More, an able navigator, purposely to guide the British squadron to its destined port. With his aid, the travellers once more quitted the coast, and on the 27th of April, anchored in the evening, within view of Flushing. At that late hour Maurice came on board to welcome his guests, and as if determined to win the smiles of his young kinswoman, he remained in the ship till the following morning, and then conveyed her in his stately barge to Flushing; whilst the Admiral, the fleet, and the garrison sent forth a tremendous welcome.* Aware of her military enthusiasm, Maurice had provided no other music than the sonorous trumpet; and no sooner had she landed, than, with all her native gaiety, she walked through the streets unveiled, unconscious or regardless of the absence of that fastidious court etiquette which existed not in the re-

* In the words of Stowe, "the town and garrison "sent forth a volley, which the Lord Admiral an- "swered with a volley, that made the heavens and "earth to echo."

public. Charmed with her youth and affability, the States, the soldiers, and citizens vied in showing attentions to the daughter of James; and no sooner had she reached the castle, than there was again a contention between the fleet, the garrison, and the musquetry, to render her military honours. During the banquet that succeeded, the impression was prolonged by the trumpets, which sounded like the heralds of victory. In reality, however, it was not beauty but patriotism that triumphed, and the States gloried in receiving with magnificence the daughter of a monarch, to whose predecessors their oppressed country had owed its preservation.

CHAPTER IV.

ELIZABETH'S BRIDAL TOUR THROUGH HOLLAND TO COLOGNE.—EMBARKATION ON THE RHINE.—RECEPTION AT FRANKNETHAL AND HEIDELBERG.

In preparing for the reception of the Pearl of Britain, as by Scottish and German panegyrists Elizabeth had been designated, Maurice was sensible that it would be in vain to offer the attractions of the French or English capital: in reality, there was in Holland no court, that is, no circle of nobility and royalty, sufficiently prominent to give its peculiar impress to society. It was the characteristic feature of the commonwealth, that military and legislative talents obtained the first rank, and that precedency waited on desert. The camp was here the court, and military gradations supplied to

Maurice and his retainers the place of etiquette. With a sovereign contempt for luxury* and effeminacy, he occasionally displayed gallantry and magnificence, when discarding his ordinary dress of woollen cloth, he assumed a Spanish habit, or a rich military uniform, the plume pendent from his hat, the chain suspended from his neck, and his gilt sword attached to his waistcoat by an embroidered girdle; of low stature, inclining to corpulence, fair complexion, light eyes, and a somewhat phlegmatic expression of countenance, Maurice was not unfrequently a cynical satirist of epicurism and foppery;—but he approached the blooming Elizabeth in his holiday dress, affected the gallantry of a cavalier, and by her was hailed as a hero.

A tournament would here have been misplaced: no tilting match, no mockery of battle, could be relished in a country which du-

* Of this we have an example in the well-known anecdote, of his having invited the luxurious Lord Hay to dine upon two dishes, of which one was a boiled, the other a roasted pig.—*Du Mourier.*

ring fifty years had been the field of war, whose soil had been fertilized by the blood of heroes, and whose vital principle was the love of liberty and glory. In place of fictitious combats, Elizabeth delighted to explore each spot in which Maurice or his father had sustained the honour of their house and the interests of the Protestant cause against the navies and armies, and gold and cruelty of Spain, and her perfidious emissaries. She was never weary of listening to his details of the siege in which he had prevailed, of the heroism displayed by the women, the valour of the soldiers, the irresistible energy and enthusiasm of the people. In this manner she unconsciously revealed the ardour of her own sentiments; and Maurice observed with pleasure that she possessed an aspiring mind, and by her courage, no less than her charms, was likely to give a powerful impulse to his nephew's character.

In the mean time the elector had departed alone, avowedly to have more leisure to visit Dort, which was the place of his mo-

ther's nativity. From Flushing Elizabeth proceeded with the prince in his barge, leaving to her ladies the luxury of coaches. When arrived at Middleburgh, she lodged in the abbey, and attended public worship; but the observance of the Sunday did not preclude the indulgence of festivity, since she partook of a feast in the town-hall, at which eighty persons of distinction of either sex were present. The next day she had to receive the farewell of the veteran Lord Nottingham, who, with the Vice-Admiral, departed for England, not without a profusion of acknowledgments from Elizabeth, by whom he was entrusted with a letter to her father, evidently written under those feelings of diffidence, not unmixed with chagrin, which had been produced by his late capricious conduct.*

After the Admiral's departure, Elizabeth embarked with Prince Maurice for Wilhelm-

* "SIRE,—I know not any one so competent as "the Lord Admiral himself to do justice to the ex-"traordinary courtesies with which I have been ho-

stadt; and from thence proceeded to Dort, where she failed not to visit the encampments; from Dort she passed to Rotterdam, where, doubtless, she paid due homage to Erasmus; and from thence to the Hague, where she was welcomed by Frederic, already arrived, after having had the gratification to explore the chamber in which his mother Juliana had first seen the light. At the Hague, Elizabeth found, exclusive of her companions, Maurice, Count Henry, and the Prince of Portugal, the Princess

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" noured; but I am so conscious that whatever favours
" he has showered on me have been prompted by his
" zeal for your Majesty's service, that it would afford
" me the greatest happiness to be assured that his at-
" tentions have obtained your Majesty's approbation.
" I leave to my Lord Admiral to declare the affection
" testified to me by the people of this country, and
" for which also I am solely indebted to the sentiments
" they entertain for your Majesty; but it is neither
" for him nor me to express with what devotion I
" shall eternally remain

" Your most affectionate obedient servant."

The French original of this letter is at the end of the volume, and was one of the autographs lately sold by Mr. Sotheby.

Emilia of Nassau, who appears not to have participated in the talent of her family, the incomparable Louisa Coligny, who had returned from Paris purposely to receive the British princess, and, dearer than all of these, her youthful kinswoman, Catharine of Brunswick, lately married to Count Ernest of Nassau, an amiable princess, to whom Elizabeth felt herself so strongly attracted by congeniality of character, that they became inseparable companions, and through succeeding life continued to be intimate friends: nor is it improbable but that it was Elizabeth's correspondence with this lady which first rendered her an object of interest to her brother, Christian of Brunswick.

At the Hague, according to Stowe, her reception was not only royal, but her entertainment luxurious. When she passed through the streets, the burghers were under arms, the guards were marshalled, and several companies of soldiers gave a military salutation. The Prince's banquet was sufficiently superb to have satisfied the voluptuous Lord

Hay; and the evening crowned with the representation of a French comedy. The next day Maurice gave the Electress an amusement still more agreeable to her taste: this was a hunting party in the park, where, eager to signalize her prowess in his presence, she shot a deer; an achievement which, it may be presumed, was somewhat remarkable, since it is recorded in the historical journals of France, Italy, and Germany.* The next day there was a public assembly of the States, at which Elizabeth, though little fond of such meetings, was present; after which, she was again consigned to the care of Prince Maurice; whilst Frederic, anxious to impress his British companions with respect for himself and his country, took his departure for the Palatinate, avowedly that he might superintend the preparations for the reception of his beloved consort.

At the court of Prince Maurice, Elizabeth spent another week; "and so skilfully,"

* Le Mercure Francois, Theatre of Europe.

says an English witness,* "did he con-
"trive to vary her pleasures, that vacuity
"was never perceived, and satiety never
"known, inasmuch as enjoyment never
"cloyed." Yet was there neither tilting, nor masquing, nor carnival, nor holiday procession — no balls, for the prince did not dance — little music, for the trumpet was his favourite instrument: his amusements were either martial or intellectual; the game of chess being the ordinary recreation of Maurice, as the society of scholars and orators was the chosen pastime of his rival, Barnevelt. In referring to the character of the commonwealth it should be observed, that women had acquired more influence, at least obtained a more positive rank, than they enjoyed in other contries, which affected a far higher state of civilization.†

* See Stowe.

† The laws were favourable to the sex, since, to the astonishment of *French* and *English* travellers, a man was not allowed to strike a woman with impunity. Parental authority, though still high, was not oppressive, as in aristocratic countries. Mothers were treated

During her visit to the Hague, Elizabeth received from the States many superb gifts; and on the 12th of May, accompanied by Prince Maurice and her cousin the Countess Ernest, she passed to Leyden: without visiting the college, the seat of controversy, proceeded to Haerlem, already celebrated for its manufactures; and on the 13th reached Amsterdam, then justly celebrated as the pride of modern Europe, which had already supplanted Antwerp, and bid fair even to rival the commercial glory of London.

In that emporium of Batavia, Elizabeth was hailed with a studied magnificence that

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by their sons with respect; and the devoted love of the adoring wife, such as Maria, the consort of Grotius, was often recompensed by the undivided empire of her husband's affections. The ladies, though less accomplished than in England, were sometimes learned; and those of the lower class conversant in the business of life; like the men, they entered with ardour into the religious controversies of the day; often with more zeal than charity.—*See Howell's Letters. Les Delices de la Hollande. Life of Grotius.*

bespoke not only a warlike, but a rich and polished people. From the barge to her carriage she passed over a bridge richly carpeted; and in front of the exchange was complimented with a triumphal arch, in which she was herself represented as Thetis, the goddess-mother of Achilles. On the bridge, towards the Prince's court, was erected a theatre, in the disguise also of a triumphal arch, in which were represented pantomimic comedies without interlocutors.* The next day, Elizabeth, with the vivacity of youth, explored all the rarities of Amsterdam; ascended to the summit of a tower, from whence she descried thirty cities; and finally partook of a feast, at which the sexes were associated as in France,† and

* The people of Amsterdam were at this time much addicted to humorous representations, caricatures and satires, which, during the riots created by the contra-remonstrants, gave birth to many pasquinades. See Brandt.—*History of the Reformation.*

† It appears to have been only in France and Holland that the ladies were associated with the gentlemen, at the grand dinner, although they met freely at the supper or the banquet.

every health announced by a tremendous discharge of artillery.

Little could it have been anticipated by those who participated in the scene of festivity, that the fury of polemical controversy was so soon to take place of this smiling urbanity, and, for a time produce excesses not less frightful than those which, in the middle ages, had convulsed the Italian republics. On the 17th, Elizabeth left Amsterdam, loaded with favours, and, attended by her cousin of Brunswick, proceeded towards the Rhine with Prince Maurice in his yacht. On landing she was gratified by a trait of gallantry in the two Princes of Nassau that she little expected. On the shore were drawn up several companies of cavalry, whom Count Henry, with a complimentary speech, presented as her own soldiers, adding, that having in her name obtained a signal victory, they came to lay at her feet the trophies of their conquest. In the town of Rhenen, she was in like manner greeted by foot-soldiers, who escorted

her to Arnheim. Within a mile of that town, other companies approached to offer similar homage. Every day was enlivened by military evolutions: her journey was more like a victorious march than a bridal tour; but, perhaps, the most happy hours of her excursion were those two days she spent in her kinswoman's palace, from whom she afterwards separated at Emerick,* not without mutual professions of attachment that in after life were not forgotten. In her way towards Netherwessel, Elizabeth received a respectful embassy from the Infanta Isabella, to which she replied in few words; whilst she welcomed, with her most exhilirating smiles, the military deputation of young nobles and burghers, by whom she was conducted to the town in triumph. On the 22d, she received, for the first time, the homage of a German Sovereign, in George William of Brandenburgh, a youth addicted, like most of his countrymen, to jollity and

* In Friesland.

drinking; whose indolence, combined with juvenile facility and good humour, served to disguise the coarser traits of a selfish, sordid character. Proud to be distinguished as her kinsman, the young prince conducted Elizabeth to Dusseldorf, where finding herself annoyed by ceremonious deputations, she escaped to the fields, happy to be permitted to take her repast under the spreading beech trees. It was from this spot that she descried the little fairy fleet, which the tender solicitude of Frederic had provided for her passage along the Rhine, one of which, ingeniously constructed *, was fitted up for her reception with romantic elegance; in which, with a lover-like recollection of

* These vessels propelled by one oar, being more ornamental than useful, were every night transferred to a large yacht. Elizabeth's ship was divided into several compartments, not less ornamented than the galley on which Cleopatra was wafted on the Cydnus; the floor was so painted as to represent marble, and in its structure corresponded with the form of an altar encircled with a laurel wreath, and surmounted by the arms of Britain.

her favourite tastes, he had taken care that gunners and ordnance should be appended. It was here that Elizabeth took leave of Prince Maurice, by whom she had been treated, not only with friendship, but a *Leicestrean* homage, such as he never offered to any other woman. Enchanted with the scenery of these banks, she rejoiced at night-fall to land, when she was either lodged in an abbey or a castle; and, in the progress of her pilgrimage, occupied one of the chambers in the former mansion of Hatto, Bishop of Triers, whose tragi-comic fate has been the theme of many fantastic traditions.* Wherever she landed, she had ample proofs of German hospitality†— and the wild tra-

* The avaricious Bishop of Triers, who is said to have been devoured by rats.

† Elizabeth was repeatedly presented with a Fuder of wine. In the Journal a minute record is kept of every meal. When Elizabeth visited a Catholic court, she was regaled with fish and exquisite wine. She appears to have little relished the tediousness of her progress in Frederic's fairy fleet; but she tolerated the constraint for the sake of her own pretty chamber.

ditionary lore, that so well accorded with interminable forests and stupendous cliffs, supplied her with inexhaustible entertainments. Having thus passed Caub and Baaccherah, she began to be weary of her journey, "and, in the meanwhile," says his chronicler, "the Palsgrave became im-
"patient to see his beloved consort, and
"having collected a troop of cavaliers, and
"four companies of soldiers, he transported
"himself to Gilsheim on the Rhine, where
"having learnt that his Princess was off
"Baaccherat, he entered a yacht, soon
"descried the fleet, and hastened to wel-
"come her whom he held most dear in the
"world. What joy it was to meet again
"it were needless to say. And now the
"elector conducted his spouse to Gilsheim;
"but lo! her approach being rumoured, the
"princes and their vassals gather from all
"parts to the banks of the Rhine, and
"friendly invitations were poured in from
"every side. And this day did the Princess
"first arrive in the land of the Palatinate,

" thanks to God, safe and sound, and gay,
" and most heartily welcomed." After this fervent effusion, the journalist mentions the arrival of the coaches, the exploits of the artillery, and, above all, expatiates on a magnificent collation prepared *al fresco*, of which all the royal party, including 150 personages, were feasted to their full content. The arrival at Mentz was no less auspicious; but the first place in Frederic's dominions which offered to Elizabeth the homage of a triumphal arch was the town of Oppenheim; and it was here also, for the first time since she had quitted England, that she was saluted with a band of music. The loyalty of the inhabitants was manifested in a variety of presents, which were probably more acceptable than the fulsome Latin orations with which certain learned professors edified the youthful pair. In passing through Worms, they were again assailed by the powers of oratory, but proceeded without delay to Frankenthal, which, being the principal place of Elizabeth's dower, was

carefully prepared for her reception. Here, as in other cities, the burghers were armed, and tastefully habited in the costume of Turks, Switzers, Germans, and Poles; the women and children strewed flowers through the streets; and no sooner had a peal of ordnance announced the approach of Elizabeth, than, "in the *twinkling of an eye*," every house was crowned with a garland; the air breathed fragrance, and from every quarter resounded songs of gladness. In the meanwhile, sixty burghers well mounted in livery of blue and gold, with grey hats and green plumes, with carabines and spears, rode with streaming banners from the town to meet the carriage in which the Prince and Princess sat, and saluted the whole cavalcade with a *feu de joie*. No sooner had the royal pair passed the gate than they were in like manner hailed by two companies of musqueteers, of whom the first personated old Romans, the latter modern Turks, who filed off in opposite directions.*

* German Journal.

In the centre of the market-square was raised a triumphal arch, so painted as to represent grey marble, but now over-canopied with boughs of May. This arch was but the first of a series repeatedly presented to Elizabeth in her way to the palace. Before that which was raised in the market stood a young boy in a doctoral habit, who recited a Latin poem. The last arch was erected in front of the royal palace, with an equestrian statue of Frederic, large as life, in the costume of a Roman chief. To this was appended an adulatory inscription, worthy of the parasites of Louis the Fourteenth, in which the Elector was modestly compared to Mars, and his spouse to Venus. After the learned boy before mentioned, followed two companies of musqueteers; the first disguised as negroes, with whimsical incongruity wearing short yellow hose. On one side of the palace was a little theatre, which the goldsmiths of Frankenthal had fitted up at their own expence, in which the prince and his consort were again

regaled with delightful music. On its summit was the figure of an angel blowing vigorously on two trumpets.* In the various compartments beneath, were introduced personifications of the virtues of faith, constancy, fortitude, magnanimity. In the centre, was a picture representing Solomon and his bride, the latter an obvious likeness to Elizabeth in her nuptial dress; a crown placed on her head, her hair flowing on the shoulders, the star of Britain on one side, and the magnanimous Frederic on the other. On entering the palace, the royal party beheld from a balcony a rich and really tasteful military procession, exhibiting first the Roman casques; then the jet black bonnet of the Moors; next the standard of the Persians symbolized by the sun; after these, a company of youthful archers all clad in green, and displaying on their standard the auspicious words, *Aliquando Majora.* Last of all came a company of mechanics

* German Journal.

and artizans, dressed alike in sober livery, without any standard.

In front of the palace stood the pageant prepared for the fire-works hereafter to be exhibited, representing the tower of Troy, felicitously adapted to a dramatic spectacle. At night the throne of Solomon was suddenly lighted by an hundred lamps, and the castle of Troy illuminated by a magnificent display of fire-works.* The spontaneous plaudits that were given to this exhibition by the English company delighted the Palsgrave, who the next day left Frankenthal, to prepare for their reception at Heidelberg; to which place he had collected almost all the royalty and nobility of Protestant Germany. Exclusive of the Duke de Deux-ponts, who had espoused his eldest sister, were all the members of the Palatine house in its various ramifications. Countesses and princesses were no less numerous; but of the ladies we find no name sufficiently

* This spectacle is mentioned with much commendation in Stowe.

marked to be rescued from oblivion. In the other sex we discover, however, certain military heroes, such as the old Count William of Mansfeldt, and Christian, Prince of Anhalt.

" It was now," says the Journalist, " in " the lovely the amiable, month of June; " for so shall June henceforth be named, " inasmuch as it hath witnessed the blessed " union in the Palatine house with the king- " ly race of Britain; and our prince has " enriched himself with the costly pearl of " Albion's Isle. It was on the seventh day " of this happy month, hereafter to be called " benignity and goodness, whose blessed " sun has not only shone on the state of " Heidelberg, but through all the adjoin- " ing country diffused joy and felicity, that " our Palsgrave summoned his faithful " people to receive with honour and loyalty " the beloved princess. Precisely at the " hour of twelve, the mighty prince, John, " Palsgrave of the Rhine, accompanying " him, he issued from the castle in gorgeous

" array, with a band of royal knights and
" choicest chivalry, to conduct to her palace
" the queenly fair one.

"Before the first troop sounded three trum-
" pets; then followed that buckler of ho-
" nour, that staff of the nobles, Philip Jacob
" of Offenstein, Sub-marshal, with his brave
" regiment. After him marched a goodly
" company gaily attired in red frocks, faced
" with white and silver, with swords and
" bandaliers composed of the Palsgrave's
" civil officers and most trusty counsellors.
" Then interposed three trumpets to intro-
" duce the royal huntsman, Philip Wolfe
" of Ottingen and his company, all clad in
" green, and all armed with sword and spear.
" Then rode twenty-four trumpeters divided
" into two companies, belonging to the
" Palsgrave and the Duke of Wurtemberg.
" Then the Administrator, the Palsgrave,
" and Margrave of Anspach. After these
" rode the young Prince Louis, and Chris-
" tian, Prince of Anhalt. The magnificent
" Duke of Wurtemberg followed, and other

" princes equally great in suitable array;
" their trains composed of nobles and court-
" iers, headed by Count William of Mans-
" feldt. An immense concourse of petty
" officers and subordinate gentry closed the
" procession.

" In the meanwhile, the English com-
" pany had reached the field of Heidelberg,
" and gazed not without admiration on its
" camp, its intrenchments, and martial-look-
" ing soldiers * distributed in companies of
" three hundred each, some carrying the
" long sword, and others the musquet, all
" marshalled in battle array; and no sooner
" was the English party descried, than from

* A regular encampment had been formed at Ladenburg, where there was a strong redoubt, with other facilities for the military exhibitions that Frederic had projected. The soldiers, chiefly drawn from the peasantry, had been trained and disciplined in three weeks. Royal purveyors were appointed for the distribution of beer and table wine, to which was even added, the product of a more luxurious foreign vintage. — *German Journal.* Much praise on this military spectacle is bestowed by Stowe.

" the nobles, the soldiers, and the peasants
" there was a simultaneous discharge of ar-
" tillery, as they advanced towards the bat-
" tery, where they took their station in
" silence. Then was every cannon pointed,
" and every sword brandished, every spear
" uplifted, the horses were then spurred to
" the field. Each horseman discharged
" his musket in air, all the cavaliers at-
" tending the English cavalcade, and every
" soldier fired also; and not a carriage
" advanced or receded but received the
" same token of homage. At length the de-
" sire of all eyes appeared, the Princess Eli-
" zabeth in her slow moving equipage with
" eight horses; when our gracious Lord,
" Frederic and his companions, each leap-
" ing from his steed, approached. Whilst
" the princess, springing from her car-
" riage, threw herself into her husband's
" arms, and exchanged with the other
" princes a friendly welcome."

Elizabeth was invited by her consort to mount her palfrey; and this being declined

she was by him conducted to a state carriage magnificently decorated for her public entry. The royal marshal then advanced with his satellites all habited in scarlet uniform to clear the way. In like manner, came the chief huntsman with his troop of archers clad in green. The nobles and courtiers followed, counts and lords with their numerous retainers; the retinue of the German Princes of Wurtemberg and Anspach, the knights and nobles of the Rhine. To these succeeded various officers, military and civil, the body-guard of the princess; then rode one by one, gallantly mounted, each of those princes whose equipage preceded the Princes of Anhalt, the Princes Palatine of the Rhine; the young Princes of Wurtemburg; and the English commissioners; a band of trumpeters heralded the approach of the royal pair, who with barbarous taste were in separate carriages, the Palsgrave sitting with the Duke of Deuxponts, his consort with the countesses of Harrington and other ladies. On approaching the town, they were presented

with a sham fight also by the boats on the Neckar, with the extreme beauty of whose banks the party were so captivated, that they pronounced the country a terrestrial paradise. *

Having crossed the brook, they proceeded towards the gates of Heidelberg. Over its portal hovered an angel with broad expanded wings, and the appropriate motto *Deus conjunxit.* The portico offered a pictorial representation of the Rhine and his tributary streams, with a quaint Latin distich in honour of the fair stranger. In the same language the city of Heidelberg was made to offer a congratulatory address, and on the gates were inscribed, the words *expectata venis.* The streets through which Elizabeth passed were strewn with greensward, the roofs of the houses were crowned with boughs of May. Along the walls were suspended festoons of flowers; and, but for the soldiers and their military pomp, she might have fancied she was

* See Stowe.

approaching Oberon's bower. Having reached the free-school, she found her passage arrested by a triumphal arch, in front supported by Doric pillars. As Elizabeth passed under this arch, a crown, suspended by a silken cord, was for a moment lowered on her head, but instantly withdrawn; a pretty compliment, afterwards considered ominous. Proceeding to the town-hall near the cemetery, she beheld a series of arches, each appropriated to one of the four colleges of the university; of these the first was dedicated to philosophy, appropriately represented by globes and mathematical instruments; above was a balcony, in which was placed a band of musicians, who played on every stringed instrument; and among the principal portraits was that of Philip Melanchthon. The second arch was sacred to the faculty of medicine; over this was raised a sort of Gothic turret of three stages, loaded with grotesque ornaments, under the portico of which stood the magnificent rector, Ludovicus Gravius, wielding a silver sceptre,

and wearing a sword, by which he was distinguished from the sub-professors. Behind him stood bareheaded, with unfrilled necks and strait bands, a goodly train of doctors, each clad in a tight vest buttoned close to the throat, enveloped by a cloak, under which a sword or dagger might be discovered. These all awaited in submissive silence during the Latin oration, in which their superior solicited the protection of the young Electress. At this moment, a boy, heavily encumbered with a a long cloak, presented to her a basket of fruit, saying in French, "Behold, madam, the tribute of the goddesses Flora and Pomona;" with which brief speech she appeared well pleased, and apparently found the nectarines still more to her taste. The faculties of law and theology had each its tributary arch, in the latter, with little propriety, were invoked the powers of harmony.* After

* It was also ornamented with scriptural distichs, such as, "The king's daughter is all glorious within; her clothing is of wrought gold."

these probationary stages Elizabeth approached the castle, the goal of her pilgrimage; but not, alas! the termination of her labours. Of the palace of Heidelberg she had already heard much, and was now to explore those romantic towers to each of which was appended a little volume of traditions.

The scite of the castle being elevated three hundred feet above the town, its venerable walls had long been distinctly visible. The most ancient part of the edifice was a tower raised on a cliff, on which had once dwelt a prophetess called Jetha Behel, to whose cell the people daily resorted to address enquiries concerning future events, to which she was accustomed, unseen, to respond in oracular sentences. Such was the reputation of her wisdom and prescience, that it was owing to one of her predictions that this spot was chosen for the erection of a new palace, in place of the old castle, coeval with the days of Charlemagne,

but which had been once struck with lightning, and was subsequently consumed by fire. Jetha's tower was begun by the Elector Philip, and continued by many of his successors. To this Gothic edifice was also added a quadrangle of most magnificent dimensions; on the eastern side, the ground-floor was occupied by an immense room called the royal hall, to correspond with which, the late Elector, Frederic the Fourth, had erected a room on the western side, called the knight's hall, on the façade of which were sculptured portraits large as life of all the Palatine princes from Otho of Wittelspach to Frederic, the progenitor of the present sovereign. The tower had been converted to a library, and in it were deposited some of the rarest books and MSS. in Europe. The celebrated tun of Heidelberg, constructed also by Frederic the Fourth, was not inappropriately placed on the broad terrace in front of the knight's hall, the seat of festive hospitality.

The castle of Heidelberg was of such extent, that it appeared to comprise within its limits a second town. Never had Elizabeth beheld a mansion so imposing; never had her British friends approached any place better calculated to recall the image of old German majesty. In the meanwhile, the Dowager Juliana, and a train of twelve princesses, and many noble ladies, had taken their station in the vestibule, one after the other, forming a double row, which extended to the silver chamber; and presenting in gradations the several ages of woman. Of these the first was Juliana; the second, the aged mother of the Duke of Deuxponts; the third, Louisa, the youthful wife of the administrator; two or three dowager princesses; Amelia, the sister of Juliana; Catharine and Charlotte, the junior sisters of Frederic, and several infant princesses. The entrance to the travellers was by a triumphal arch, the last and most magnificent of all that had hitherto

been presented *, through which Elizabeth passed in her carriage to the court, from whence she was borne in Frederic's arms to the portal, where Juliana, with an impulse of feeling too strong for etiquette, rushed to receive her with every demonstration of maternal affection. The meeting of

* This arch, constructed under the immediate superintendence of Frederic, presented, with considerable elegance and taste, at a single view, a complete genealogical picture of the palatine princes, beginning with Henry the Lion of Bavaria, and his consort Matilda of England, daughter of Henry the Second. This bridal pair stood hand in hand, having at their feet pictorial personifications of the Danube and the Thames, and a succession of portraits of the Electoral princes. In a niche placed opposite to Henry and Matilda, was represented another bridal pair, Louis, Duke of Bavaria, and Blanche, daughter of Henry the Fourth, in the picturesque costume of the thirteenth century; with a long flowing veil thrown back, and falling like a mantle on her shoulders. On either side was another pictorial representation of the Thames associated with the Rhine, and the following inscription: —

Exemplum eodem (O blanda nominum omina,)
Clementis ille digna, proles inclyti
Pius Britannæ, candidæ, gaudet Thoro.

the mother and daughter-in-law was affecting, each clasped the other to her bosom shedding tears of joy. The British party were cordially welcomed; and Frederic was repeatedly felicitated on the possession of his magnificent habitation. The interior of the palace, with its floors of porphyry and gilt pillars, and cornice inlaid with gems, was superb beyond description: the ceiling was painted al fresco, the walls were hung with tapestry; and a suite of ten rooms, including the knight's hall, the royal saloon, the silver chamber, and ante-rooms, formed a complete Gothic palace, which, during the summer, seemed the temple of pleasure.

On the following day, Scultetus preached his thanksgiving sermon, after which Elizabeth dined in state, served by twelve princes *, whose attendance, it may be pre-

* Elizabeth (the *queenly princess*) sat at the upper end of the table alone: on her left the Dowager Juliana, and the other princesses; on her right hand the Duke of Lenox, after whom was left a space for a noble carver; after him the Elector Frederic.

sumed, she afterwards gladly remitted. It should, however, be remarked, that on this and twelve succeeding days the Elector held wassail, and the same trumpets and kettle-drums, which summoned the royal party to the silver chamber, welcomed to the hall five thousand guests, for whose use the great Tun was repeatedly drained and replenished. *

In the meanwhile, Frederic presented his visitors with a succession of amusements, of which the principal was a tournament†,

* See Stowe.

† In the recreations of the court, jousting held a high place, though of the old school of chivalry there remained not the least vestige, more especially in the tournament, which had other objects than to promote expertness in horsemanship. Even this taste, however, began to decline among the nobility; and in place of the women performing journies on horseback, it became usual even for men to accept the accommodation of coaches; a practice which, in 1588, was so prevalent, that Duke Julius of Brunswick thought proper to issue an edict against it. In reality, the introduction of fire-arms had rendered the lance and sword of subordinate importance; the youth were

or rather a carousal, such as during the last century had never been presented in Germany, and which offered an ambitious imitation of that lately exhibited in Paris at a royal marriage. The scene of this grand spectacle was the Royal Garden, in which were splendid galleries for the ladies of the court, and a commodious theatre for the use of all orders of the court. Here the knights spurred to the field in splendid array, the cartell was displayed in broad

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now trained to shooting rather than fencing; and as cultivation advanced, they devoted some time to drawing and music: new masters were added to the old, without superseding them, and thus two systems of education were combined at the same moment. Of the dancing master no mention is made, but the fencing professor appears to have been a prominent personage. The pursuits of the chace continued in unabated strength; the passion was even increased by the facility which fire-arms presented for its gratification. There were two modes of hunting: to beat the bushes with the gun, or, with hawk and hound, to scour over the hills and plains. The number of hounds and the quantity of game were alike incredible.

characters, and various prizes distributed according to the merit of the candidates. The Marquis of Anspach challenged that awarded by the ladies, but Christian, Prince of Anhalt, obtained the first honours. It should be remarked that the prizes were not merely aspired to from sentiment, since money was added to them, in sums proportioned to the merit of the victor.*

On the morning the garden was also the scene of another pastime, that of running at the ring, with which was combined a sort of melo-romantic pageant which appears to have delighted the British spectators. The subject was the Golden Fleece, the part of Jason enacted by Frederic. On the preceding day, that prince had taken his place in the field attended by twelve squires, each of whom was supposed to present some tribute of chivalry to his bride; but now, his advent was preceded by a series of mythological pageants, beginning with Pallas

* See note at the end of the volume.

seated in a car drawn by dragons, and ending with Orpheus mounted on a unicorn. At length, a melodious symphony heralded his approach; from the deep-toned voice of an invisible speaker was pronounced a mysterious oracle; and immediately appeared a slow moving ship, the immortal Argo, in which stood the victorious Jason and two of his brave companions, each of whom, no less than their lord, recited a complimentary poem to Elizabeth. At this moment, when all eyes were directed towards the youthful pair, a fatal omen was detected in the Golden Fleece, the trophy of Jason's successful labours, the whisper of superstition produced an immediate impression on the minds of the spectators, and those who had most rejoiced were struck with unwonted sadness. * The spectacles continued, and all the graces and divinities of classical fable were lavished on this entertainment,

* This anecdote is to be found in Frederic Spanheim's Life of Baron Christophies D'hona.

which lasted many hours. After one pageant came another and another; to the inventor of each were thanks rendered by the ladies. Nothing could be more ludicrous than some of these. Masculine personifications of the sun and moon came upon Mount Parnassus, each sitting on a handsome courser; the representative of the sun was in gilt trappings, whilst the moon's squire was clad in a suit of grey armour: presently Mount Parnassus itself appeared in motion with living animals springing through its cliffs — the eagle, the wolf, the bear, all dwelling in concord. Apollo entered in a long white gown, the Muses in green quilted vests, playing on various instruments; Pan piped; Diana hunted; the old German hero Arminius passed over the stage; then came the images of various celebrated rivers, as the Danube, the Rhine, the Neckar. The following day the amusement was resumed, when the personifications were still more preposterous, and the only thing that aspired to consistency was a series of songs,

addressed to Elizabeth under the fictitious names of Orpheus, Venus, the heroes of Elysium, and graces of Olympus.*

These grand exhibitions terminated in a ball, or, as it is called by the German journalist, a dance of honour, exclusively composed of princes and princesses, sufficiently dull, but for the sentimental interest which had been awakened in some of the younger branches of royalty. Among these, George

* "Besides the 6000 trained footmen who staid "during the solemnity, and were fed by the prince in "the camp, there were every meal, whilst the com- "missioners staid, furnished above five thousand ta- "bles, above six thousand guests served and fed at "his expence. But because this was extraordinary, "know that this court is ever great, for it hath one "thousand persons in ordinary daily fed, and clothed "twice a year at the prince's charge; but he keepeth "three hundred great horse; besides his Highness "hath many governors, lieutenants, deputies, receiv- "ers, captains, and other officers, who have large "salaries, and are served in such state. At every meal "a marvellous great kettle-drum striketh, and twenty- "four trumpets sound the service. Wherefore, let "envy, malice, and ignorance cease to carp at that "they cannot parallel, now they may know it, and all "honest men rest satisfied therewith."—*Stowe.*

William of Brandenburgh conceived a passion for the Palatine Princess Charlotte, which afterwards led to their union: Count Schomberg became the lover of Anne Dudley, who required to be wooed ere she would allow herself to be won.

At length the Lords Commissioners departed, and Scultetus preached a second sermon, in which was implied perhaps a thanksgiving, not only for the marriage so auspiciously concluded, but for the close of its expensive and almost ruinous festivities; in which, according to moderate computation, were expended nearly three hundred thousand pounds; a sum very far exceeding the bridal dower, and almost equal to the revenues of a kingdom.*

* See notes at end of the volume.

CHAPTER V.

DOMESTIC HAPPINESS OF FREDERIC AND ELIZABETH. —HIS POSITION AS CHIEF OF THE UNION.— JULIANA'S RETREAT FROM COURT. — GARDEN PLANTED FOR ELIZABETH. DISTURBANCE IN HOLLAND, ENDING IN THE DEATH OF BARNEVELT.

No sooner were the royal festivities concluded, than Frederic prepared to take into his own hands the administration hitherto so prosperously conducted by the Duke of Deuxponts. Never had any minority been concluded under fairer auspices. The Palatinate was at this period the most flourishing district in Germany. Frederic, in addition to the dignities and prerogatives assumed by his predecessors, saw himself recognised as Chief of the Evangelic Union,

a distinction enjoyed with security by his father, but which, in the present state of Europe, was not more honourable than dangerous. It has been already remarked of this Protestant confederacy, that Lutherans and Calvinists were, for the first time, associated together, and that its rise is with plausibility ascribed to Henry the Fourth of France. By that monarch's untimely death, its spirit seemed to have been repressed, and hitherto it had achieved nothing worthy of its great author.

In the interval of tranquillity that had lately prevailed in Germany, the succession to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers excited general attention. For that small territory appeared three competitors, each claiming in right of one of the three daughters of the late sovereign. In the critical state of the religious parties, the princes of the Union could not be indifferent to the issue of the contest, and, least of all, the Elector Palatine, who was nearly connected with the two prominent candidates, the

Prince of Neuberg and the Elector of Brandenburgh, and who, in common with all the Protestants, was anxious to prevent any new accession of power to the Catholic princes.

Immediately after the departure of his British guests, Frederic entered on his political functions, by sending deputies to Ratisbon to remonstrate against certain encroachments on the Protestants; and by this spirited commencement, excited the jealousy of the antagonist party, and of the other princes of the Union, the most powerful was his kinsman the Elector of Brandenburgh, in whose dominions were comprehended a part of ducal Prussia, a part of Pomerania, and the March of Brandenburgh. * The Duke of Wirtemberg † pos-

* According to Heiss, the territories of this prince were three hundred miles in extent, comprehending ducal Prussia towards Poland, Upper Pomerania, the March of Brandenburg. His authority was absolute, and the decisions of his judicial courts without appeal.

† In Wirtemberg, was the celebrated University of Tubingen.

sessed a smaller, but more compact territory, which, in the arts of civilization, scarcely yielded to the palatinate. In the constitution of its government was presented something like political liberty, since the sovereign could neither impose laws or taxes without consent of the States, which was, however, rarely denied. The reigning duke, whose taste for magnificence and luxury has been already exemplified, was still in the flower of his days, and by his consort, Sophia of Brandenburg, had a numerous and beautiful progeny. The third member of this confederacy was the Margrave of Baden Dourlach, who maintained in his small principality despotic sway, not unfavourable to military discipline. The princes of his race were distinguished by their lofty stature; the sovereign and his subjects seemed born for war. To these was joined Philip, duke of Neuburg, an offset of the Palatinate House, who had small possessions beyond the rank of a legitimate prince, and his claims to the duchy of

Cleves. Neither the Landgrave of Hesse, nor the Elector of Saxony, had embraced the association. The former, a prince of more prudence than enterprise, who adhered to the Lutheran doctrines, and was consequently jealous of the later reformers, was yet politically disposed to embrace the counsels of France, and to protect the liberties of Germany. By the artifices of the imperial court, he had, however, been detached from his former allies, and even Wolfgang, the young prince of Neuburg, was gained to the adverse party by a Catholic bride, who was no less a personage than the sister of Maximilian of Bavaria.

The defection of this prince was not only mortifying to the Palatine family, with whom he was nearly connected, but injurious to the Protestants, who could ill afford to spare an individual of abilities so promising. In reality, it was rather in moral than physical energies that the party was wanting. The burthen of responsibility rested

on a youthful prince, whose knowledge of men and public affairs was purely speculative. Frederic had hitherto been a docile pupil—it remained to be proved whether he would ever become a master in that degree which the exigencies of the moment required. In his dominions, which include the fairest provinces* of Germany, his authority though somewhat modified by the occasional convention of the States was nearly independent. He levied contributions on the landholders, and, in ecclesiastical affairs, maintained undisputed supremacy. By his forefathers, the doctrines of Calvin had been established to the exclusion of Lutheran tenets, and the university of Heidelberg had promulgated a catechism, which was now the orthodox standard of the reformed churches in France and Germany. Unhappily the fanatics of the evangelical party conspired with astrologers to impress on the Elector Palatine the persuasion that

* Howell's Letters.

he was born to achieve extraordinary greatness; but these splendid visions, however they might haunt his fancy, prevented not his enjoyment of domestic felicity; and that most fortunate year of his life which gave to him Elizabeth, was crowned by the birth of a son, afterwards known by the name of Henry Frederic.

The notification of this event was received in England with decorous demonstrations of satisfaction by the court, with undissembled joy by the gentry, and with rapturous acclamations by the citizens; whilst in Scotland it was celebrated by the Presbyterians with an exultation probably calculated to excite the jealousy of James and his son. In the palatinate the event was celebrated as a triumph; Frederic transmitted circular letters to all the States in his dominions, summoning them to rejoice with him for the safety of his beloved consort. The ceremonial of the christening was performed with such pomp and prodigality,

as could scarcely have been exceeded even for an heir to the house of Hapsburg. The royal infant was carried to the great church of Heidelberg in the arms of his aunt, the Princess Catherine. The majesty of the British monarch was represented by the Prince of Anhalt, and magnificent donations were offered by Frederic and his mother to Elizabeth and her English household. *

During many days, the bells of Heidelberg resounded; and, at the hour of noon, the sonorous trumpet again summoned to the castle several thousand guests. The profusion displayed at the feasts and entertainments exhibited on this occasion might appear incredible, but for the well known fact, that the prosperity of the people is not to be measured by the splendour and page-

* In Stowe there is an account of this ceremony. Frederic and Juliana made splendid presents to Elizabeth's ladies, particularly to her favourite, Anne Dudley.

antry of its sovereign; and that penury and misery are generally to be seen in the back ground of regal magnificence.

It may be doubted whether this grandeur always compensated to Elizabeth for the monotonous tone of society, so different from the variety to which she had in England been hitherto accustomed. By her own family she was treated with neglect. Her father was too much engrossed by his pleasures to transmit to her any testimonies of remembrance; and though her mother, in a visit which Frederic paid to England in 1614, had received her son-in-law with courtesy, she continued to stigmatize the connexion as degrading to her daughter's dignity, and never was reconciled to its authors and promoters. *

For this alienation, Elizabeth might in part be consoled by unremitted proofs of attachment from Juliana and her daughters,

* Anne is said to have shewn resentment to Secretary Winwood, and Carleton afterwards Lord Doncaster.—See *Howell's Letters.*

and, still more, by the attentions of an enamoured husband, incessantly occupied in devising schemes for her gratification. It was a circumstance favourable to the felicity of the youthful pair, that they were perfectly congenial in their taste for magnificence, and equally solicitous for the embellishment, or, what they conceived to be the improvement, of their dominions. One of Frederic's first undertakings was to complete the fortifications of Manheim; the next, to procure for Elizabeth the recreation of a rural walk, without crossing the river Neckar, which, in the actual position of the gardens, was necessary. Hitherto no Palsgrave had attempted to plant a garden on the rocky site of the castle of Heidelberg; the unevenness of the ground, the interposition of the cliff, of which the rugged summit rose far above even Jetha's tower, were sufficiently discouraging. But these impediments were surmounted by Frederic, who, regardless of toil or expense, with lover-like ardour caused the ridge to be levelled, the chasms

to be filled, and the wild and irregular space converted into a blooming paradise, to which not only plants, but full grown trees were transferred in moulds without injury to their health or beauty. Exclusive of the profusion of delicate exotics which in the summer months embellished the borders, limes and oranges diffused through the air delicious fragrance. In one part, the umbrageous foliage of an English orchard refreshed the eye; in another, a mulberry plantation chastened the more gaudy tints of the ornamented parterres. In the centre of the flower-garden was a fountain so ingeniously constructed, as to furnish a constant supply of water to irrigate the soil. The garden was encircled with shrubberies, which straggled along the cliff, whilst tall forest trees skirted the sides of the hill, whose naked summits formed a striking contrast to the velvet lawns and trim walks beneath. From the edge of the precipice fell an artificial sheet of water, which appeared to be a natural cascade; by a still

more felicitous contrivance, little silvery streams were made to meander along the lawns, whilst musical symphonies, supposed to be breathed by nymphs or Naiads, saluted the ear. The gravel walks were terminated by ornamented gates; over that which gave immediate access to the garden was raised an elegant triumphal arch, with a simple Latin inscription, importing that it was raised in 1615 by Frederic the Fifth to his beloved wife Elizabeth. *

It might, perhaps, be objected to the artist who created this charming scene, that the glare of royalty was not sufficiently excluded from view; but the more contem-

* A description of this garden was printed in 1620, by Solomon Caus, the projector, from whose work the above is extracted.

On the arch or gateway, opening to the garden which Frederic the Fifth, Elector Palatine, laid out for his wife, Elizabeth of England, daughter of James the First, is the following inscription:—

FREDERICUS V
ELIZABETÆ
CONJUGI CARISS.
A.C. M.D.C.XV. F.C

plative were invited to explore the recesses of a grotto from whence issued a stream of melody, like that breathed from the haut-boy or flute, but which was, in reality, produced by ingenious mechanism. The walls of the palace were not concealed; but the only part of the edifice which formed a prominent object, was the old ruinous turret of Jetha Behel, which might alone suggest volumes to the reflective mind. Such was the familiar and daily haunt of Elizabeth; and here, whilst she often listened to expositions of the Sybil's mysterious oracles, or to the astro-theological predictions of Abraham Scultetus, the sight of the river Neckar flowing in tranquil beauty might sometimes arrest the dreams of ambition, or exalt them to an enthusiasm more worthy of a noble mind.

Whilst Frederic was occupied in amusing his consort, his mother realized a plan, long since conceived, of withdrawing from the court, to the lands allotted to her dower.

Her resolution was strenuously opposed by the Elector, and still more ardently by the Electress, who could not be insensible to the charms of her manners, and ill brooked the privation of such society. But Juliana adhered steadily to her purpose; as the only expedient by which she could hope to preserve the influence she had acquired over the minds of her children. In her estimation, it was rather a privilege than a sacrifice to renounce the pompous vanities of a court, and escape that puerile etiquette to which she had never narrowed her mind. Other considerations of a political nature accelerated her decision. It required no extraordinary penetration to discover that a crisis was approaching, in which the Elector Palatine must inevitably be involved. The chiefs of the League were silently measuring their strength against the leaders of the Union. The Unionists had begun to concert plans, infinitely more mischievous to themselves than their adversaries; and,

whether the ultimate object of their deliberations should be to give to the empire a Protestant chief, or to dismember or alienate part of its dominions from a Catholic emperor, Juliana was not slow to perceive that the inexperienced Frederic would be unequally opposed to his kinsman, Maximilian of Bavaria, a prince with ample experience, though still in the summer of his days, and who was not only the docile pupil of Jesuitical priests, but the confidential friend of his brother-in-law, Ferdinand. Yet more did she deprecate the effects of those ambitious counsels which Frederic had imbibed, and Elizabeth adopted; which Prince Maurice approved, and the Duke of Bouillon recommended. Against such a confederacy, she foresaw her maternal warning would be given in vain; nor had she any alternative but to withdraw from a scene, in which she must either dissent from those she loved, or acquiesce in measures her judgment condemned. The spot she had

chosen for her retreat was *Kaiser's Lautern*, so called for its singularly clear running water, which flowed through a valley, no less remarkable for pastoral beauty. — The palace she was in future to inhabit, had been erected by the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, who, attracted by the streams and woods in its vicinity, equally favourable to the pastimes of hunting and fishing, had made it his favourite retreat, and the depositary of his most valued rarities.*

The walls of this antiquated edifice were castellated, and its spiral towers recalled to the mind the stern aspect of the middle ages. On entering the spacious hall, from which every vestige of Romish rites had

* According to Spanheim, this monarch had introduced a pike into the fish-pond, to which he had affixed a ring, with an inscription, purporting that it had been placed in that water by the hand of the great Barbarossa in 1230. On the 6th of November 1497, this identical fish, says Spanheim, was dragged from the pond, and actually served at the electoral table. The ring, he adds, is preserved in the cabinet of natural history at Manheim.

been effaced, this illusion vanished; yet the genius of superstition lingered under other forms, accommodated to popular faith, and though monkish legends of miracles achieved by saints were rejected with contempt, the fantastic romances of the north, the tales of genii, imps, witches, and sorcerers, were swallowed with avidity, by the credulous auditors. In such an age, he must have been a bold man, whose heart totally disclaimed belief in demons or apparitions; but a still bolder who ventured to proclaim such scepticism to his contemporaries. With impressions such as these were intermingled more ancient traditions derived from Pagan Rome, referring to dreams, omens, and auguries, from which the strongest minds were not wholly exempted. Even Juliana heard not without emotion that the Emperor's two favourite eagles had died at the same moment; an incident from which speculative politicians according to their party, presaged mischief to the union, or subversion to the empire.

In retiring to Kaiser's Lautern, Juliana renounced not the active duties of life. In her limited domain she was entitled to absolute supremacy, or subordinate only to the Palsgrave:—as that prince was himself amenable to imperial jurisdiction. According to Spanheim, she exercised her authority rather like a tender mother than a German sovereign, attending personally to the complaints of her subjects, healing differences, and promoting concord. In her palace she established rigid economy, repressing pomp and finery, whilst her charities attested her munificence. A portion of every day was devoted to reading or expounding the Scriptures to her domestics; but she also dedicated much of her time to her numerous correspondents, including her children, her sisters, and intimate friends, an employment from which she insensibly acquired a relish and aptitude for literary composition. In her retreat she was often visited by Frederic, and on extraordinary occasions appeared at his

court, when she omitted not to resume the splendour which she knew to be acceptable to her children. In 1614, she obeyed with joyful alacrity, a summons to assist at the espousals of her daughter, Charlotte, with George William of Brandenburgh, whose sister Eleonora was hereafter to give her hand to the heroic Gustavus of Sweden. Charlotte, who inherited the talents of her mother, soon obtained an ascendancy over her husband's mind, which was conscientiously exerted in drawing him from the Lutherans to the reformed church, in other words, reconciling him to the catechism of Heidelberg.

It should be observed, that women had in this age no small share in transplanting or upholding religious tenets. It was notorious, that the Archduke Ferdinand had been confirmed in his zeal for the apostolic church by his mother, Beatrice of Bavaria, who, not satisfied with having immured his youth in the college of Ingolstadt, contrary to the express prohibitions of the Emperor Rodolph, on her death-bed enjoined him

to persevere in the true faith, as he would hope for divine mercy, or a mother's benediction. With less asperity of character, Juliana had been no less careful to instil into Frederic's mind an aversion for the latitudinarianism of Lutheran principles, which, in her estimation, were not far removed from the corruptions of the Church of Rome. It appears not how far the youthful Electress participated in these opinions; but she began insensibly to take, in some degree, the tone of the court of Heidelberg, and, on receiving a visit from the poet Donne, warmly commended his having devoted himself to a religious profession. The gaiety of her temper was no less relished in Germany than it had been in Holland; and it was remarked of her by Juliana, that whilst by her generous sentiments she inspired respect, her sprightliness and affability won the hearts of all her subjects.

During the first year of her residence in Germany, Elizabeth was cheered by the pre-

sence of her almost parental friends, Lord and Lady Harrington. The declining health of the latter induced him to hasten his departure for England; but he advanced no farther than Worms, where his journey was impeded by an illness which in a few days terminated his existence. His son, John Harrington, the admirable friend of Prince Henry, survived but a few months; and the Countess, who had returned to England immediately after her husband's death, appears to have spent her remaining days in retirement. Thus, of all the early friends that imparted happiness to Elizabeth's childhood, the only remaining object was Anne Dudley, Lord Harrington's niece, who continued with her, and having formed an attachment to Count Schomberg, was permanently separated from her native country.*

* It is remarkable that the only metrical composition of Elizabeth is a poem (already alluded to) addressed to Lord Harrington, written in 1609, at Combe Abbey. It is inserted by Lord Orford, who allows Elizabeth a place among his Royal Authors.

Whilst Elizabeth was deploring the fate of her most intimate friends, the tranquillity of Juliana was interrupted by the dis-

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Verses by Elizabeth to Lord Harrington, written in her thirteenth year.

This is a joye,—this is true pleasure,
If we best things make our treasure,
And enjoy them at full leisure,
Evermore in richest measure.

God is only excellent,
Let up to him our love be sent;
Whose desires are set and bent
On ought else,—shall much repent.

Theirs is a most wretched case
Who themselves so far disgrace,
That they their affections place
Upon things named vile and base.

Earthly things do fade, decay,
Contentations not one day;
Suddenly they pass away,
And man cannot make them stay.

All the vast world doth contain
To content men's hearts is vain,
That still justly will complain,
And unsatisfied remain.

tractions which had arisen in the land to which she owed her birth, and the bitter

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Why should vain joyes us transport?
Earthly pleasures are but short,
And are mingled in such sort,
Griefs are greater than the sport.

God, most holy, high, and great,
Our delight doth make complete,
When in us he takes his seat,
Only then we are replete.

O, my soul of Heavenly birth
Do thou scorn this basest earth,
Place not here thy joy and mirth,
Where of bliss is greatest dearth.

From below thy mind remove,
And affect the things above;
Set thy heart and fix thy love
Where thou truest joyes shall prove.

To me grace, O father, send,
On thee wholly to depend,
That all may to thy glory tend;
So let me live, so let me end.

In the copy of this poem, inserted in Harrington's Nugæ Antiquæ, several additional stanzas are introduced.

hostility that had been kindled between the brother whom she loved and the venerable patriot who had been their common protector. As the consequences of this transaction led to important changes in the fortunes of the Palatine house, it is necessary to refer to a subject which, at the first glance, might appear wholly unconnected with the history of Frederic and Elizabeth.

The rise of the Arminian controversy has been already mentioned; whence, the rival factions of remonstrants and contra-remonstrants originated. To remedy those disorders, an edict had been framed, partly by the intervention of Grotius and Barnevelt, prohibiting all future preaching or discussion on the five disputed articles concerning grace, election, and reprobation, which had hitherto been the grounds of dissention.*

Neither Grotius nor Barnevelt appears to have reflected on the impropriety committed by the Reformers in laying restrictions on the preachers of a people who had

* See note from Brandt at the end of the volume.

zealously contended for religious freedom. Seduced by their sympathies, and misled by popular, or rather traditionary opinions, these two great men in this instance argued like the Catholics, that unity of faith was essential to a Christian community. In Grotius the oversight was excused by inexperience; in Barnevelt the error was sanctified by a generous patriotism that impelled him to protect the weaker party.* That he had erred in his calculations was, however, evident when the preachers of the contra-remonstrant party, offended by the restriction imposed on their discourses, formally seceded from the churches, and the populace, enraged at their exclusion, committed atrocious outrages on the supposed authors of the grievance. No sooner was the spirit of fanaticism excited, than houses were plundered, individuals assaulted; and in the name of remonstrants and contra-

* Barnevelt declared, that though he accorded with the other party, he protected the Arminians, because all sects ought to be tolerated.—See *Carleton's Letters.*

remonstrants, factions were suddenly scattered over the Batavian commonwealth. Hitherto, Maurice had preserved neutrality; but having ascertained that the contra-remonstrants trebled their opponents, he openly proclaimed himself their protector*; happy to have discovered a simple and infallible expedient for removing the obstacle to his own views of aggrandizement, which the influence of Barnevelt had hitherto presented. His first step was to secure a majority of votes in the States-general, that great national assembly (composed of deputies from the individual states), in which resided the supremacy of the commonwealth. Having gained this point, he procured a decree for convoking a general synod to compose religious differences; and, by virtue of the authority vested in him as Governor-general, proceeded to displace whatever magistrates were of the Arminian party. The remonstrants foreseeing the storm, had taken measures to raise soldiers

* See Carleton's Letters and Negociations.

in certain states well affected to their cause; a measure which served only to furnish their adversaries with a pretext for depriving them of their chiefs, among whom were Barnevelt, the grand pensionary of Holland, and Grotius the pensionary of Rotterdam; to these were added, Leydenberg, the pensionary of Utrecht, and Utenbogard, the chaplain of Louisa Coligny and her most esteemed friend. It is not probable that Maurice would have ventured on an act of such illegal tyranny, had he not been powerfully seconded by the sinister prejudices which fanaticism and malignity had created against Barnevelt, who was preposterously believed to have espoused the interests of Spain and Austria, in opposition to those of the Protestant commonwealth. The abrupt removal of the grand pensionary seemed to paralyse the faculties of his partizans. "What shall we say," exclaimed a deputy, in the assembly of the States, "now "that we are deprived of our head, our hand, "our tongue?"

Relieved from the interference of Barnevelt, Maurice, affecting to sympathize with the contra-remonstrants in the injustice of turning them out of their churches, awed with his presence the Arminian towns, reinforced their garrisons, deposed from the magistracy all but men of Calvinistic principles, and finally assembled the Synod of Dort, of which the effects were long memorable in Europe. To this town came deputies on the part of his Britannic Majesty, the reformed churches in France and certain towns in Germany. For the Palatinate, appeared Abraham Scultetus, distinguished above every other member for the vehemence and asperity with which he denounced the remonstrants. * The opening of this assembly had been delayed by various frivolous formalities. The deputies of each nation adhered to the rules of precedence, and a council of theologians held learned arguments to settle minute points of etiquette. For the people, who eagerly

* See Carleton.

awaited the result of their important investigations, all access was debarred to discourses in which they were vitally interested, since the pleadings commenced and ended in Latin, which was to them an unknown tongue.* To the thinking few, it was obvious that religion was here but the mask of policy; and that the particular interests of James, of Maurice, of Frederic, formed the real, though secret mechanism of the pantomime enacted; but whatever motive influenced the synod, its decision, as had been foreseen, was destruction to the Arminian party—on whom it denounced the penalties of fines, confiscation, or banishment.

The arrest of the grand pensionary had been considered a measure of caution, to facilitate to the prince and his partizans the overthrow of the remonstrants. It was

* In Holland, at this period, almost every class read, and descanted on subjects of theology. According to Brandt, the barbers' shops were the resort of men, women, and children, all talking together against Vorstius or Gomar.

known but to the English and Palatine ambassadors, and their confidants, that his death was sealed; even Barnevelt had no surmise of the truth.* Accustomed to despise dangers, and above suspicion, this consummate statesman had suffered himself to be ensnared by the machinations of a man his inferior in every thing but knowledge of the world and a capacity for artifice and intrigue. But for that fearlessness of temper which results from well-founded confidence in a powerful mind, Barnevelt might have escaped the malice of his foes. When the synod was first proposed (in 1613), he meditated retreat; but when the States of Holland implored him not to withdraw his protection, the venerable patriot pledged himself to watch over their interests until death; and from that hour, until the day on which he was conveyed to prison, remitted not his personal exertions. No suspicion was entertained by his family of the impending

* Carleton's Letters.

evil; and he was walking with his wonted expression of benignity, when a messenger from the Prince of Orange desired his attendance. On reaching the apartment, he was arrested on a charge of treason, but treated with respect, being committed only to private custody. During this interval, his countenance was unaltered; yet, hearing that Grotius and Leydenberg were also apprehended, he exclaimed with a sigh, "That "is a pity, for they are young enough to do "the state service." * He next inquired somewhat anxiously how the people relished the transaction?—a superfluous question—he soon learned that the fallen patriot has few friends. It was not till he found himself conducted to a prison within the walls of the castle, that he admitted any serious apprehensions of his danger; but on passing that ill-omened threshold, he suddenly exclaimed, "My sins! my sins!" as if he intuitively divined that his days were numbered; but,

* Carleton.

banishing this idea, he concentrated his attention on the welfare of his country, demanded the result of the prince's movements, and, in particular, the progress of the synod of Dort. It was not until after the dissolution of that assembly, that Maurice ventured openly to demand the sacrifice of the venerable protector of his country. Even then, he proceeded with cautious steps: depositions were privately taken, and a list of judges proposed, almost exclusively invidious to the person, or inimical to the party of Barnevelt. At length he was summoned to the provincial court, within the walls of the castle, as a culprit; where, although his once majestic form was bent with age and lameness, he still retained the wonted dignity of his carriage, and, in passing to the hall, chanced to meet at the door two of his judges, who mechanically offered him precedence, a token of involuntary homage. During the trial he sat on a stool, or leaned on his staff, apparently unconscious of his situation: once only, on approaching the

fire, where some of his judges were seated, he was reminded that it became not a criminal like him to sit with honest men. To this outrage, Barnevelt replied with one of those deep-searching looks, familiar to his mild, meditative countenance; and, leaning on his staff, returned to his remote station as quickly as his lameness permitted. Various were the deliberations respecting his fate; and long as his sentence had been predetermined, to demand the blood of one so aged, so venerable, the memory of whose virtues awed even his accusers, seemed impossible to his foes; but ambition and resentment stimulated the Prince of Orange; venality or cowardice swayed his adherents; the credulity of fanaticism blinded the populace; the names of the King of Spain and the Pope, of Austria and the League, sufficed to sanctify with the name of justice an atrocious outrage — and Barnevelt was doomed to die!

When apprised of the sentence on Sunday evening, after he had performed his devo-

tions, astonishment at first held him mute. At length he asked why, if the States required his life, they had so long detained him in prison, adding, "it was new to him "that a man should be condemned un- "heard." The fiscal having replied, "You "have been heard sufficiently," Barnevelt exclaimed, "Had thy father known his son "should bid me die, he would have wished "thee still unborn." Then calling for pen and ink, he began writing to his wife, but was interrupted by the minister Walaeus, who came to prepare him for his end. "I "am old, and therefore should be pre- "pared," said Barnevelt; "you may spare "your pains." Having dispatched his letter, he entered into conversation with Walaeus, protested his innocence, demonstrated the injustice of his sentence, and finally desired his companion to convey a message to the Prince of Orange, and to obtain from him a promise, that his wife and children should not be deprived of his possessions. Walaeus obeyed; and by him the prince

pledged himself to forgiveness and kindness, a promise afterwards basely violated. That night Barnevelt allowed himself not to sleep. Of the few hours that remained, none must be lost. He had been long occupied in drawing up his defence, and had now to apprize his friends that these papers were concealed behind the arras.* At eight o'clock he was conducted to the hall of audience, where, being once more seated, he listened in composed silence to the sentence; but when, in the recapitulation of his offences, he heard himself charged with having accepted presents from foreign princes, he darted on the accuser "looks of "ineffable contempt." This preamble having been concluded, "with the loss of life "and confiscation of goods," he said, with a firm voice, "thirty-three years I have served "the commonwealth as Advocate of Hol-"land, and ten years before, I was the

* These papers were, however, intercepted, and suppressed. See Carleton's Letters.

" Pensionary of Rotterdam; my fidelity " and diligence might have claimed better " recompence. If you must have my " blood, yet methinks you might spare " my goods, nor ruin, for my sake, my wife " and my children." In uttering the last words his voice faltered, and his countenance became dejected. The president telling him he had no alternative but to submit, he rose from his seat, and, with his wonted nobleness of demeanour, passed through the great hall to the inner court, and, without betraying the least emotion, or casting a single glance towards the assembled spectators, ascended the scaffold.* Here the minister Walaeus repeated a brief prayer, to which Barnevelt responded an audible " Amen." Impressed, however, with the belief that a tardy pardon must be intended, he at length raised his eyes to his confidential servant, who whispered in his ear, " No grace comes." " Despatch, then,"

* Carleton's Letters.

cried the despairing patriot, "despatch;" and, with the impetuosity of passion, he tore off his clothes, with his own hand put the fatal cap on his head, and, trembling with indignation, exclaimed, "Burghers, I die for "my zeal to preserve your liberties. My "fidelity is the only crime I have commit-"ted." These were the last words uttered by Barnevelt. Little did he imagine that, among other concealed spectators, was the Prince of Orange, who, stationed at a private window, contemplated the immolation of that early friend, guardian, and benefactor, whom, for one noble trespass, he regarded as his direst foe. It has been pretended that the prince witnessed his last struggles with indecent transports. But Maurice was rather calculating than cruel. His hatred of Barnevelt originated solely in his love of power, and, as was naturally to be expected, he exulted in the prospects that were opened to his views by the removal of that patriot, whose influence had so often baffled

his anticipations of personal and collateral greatness, and whose principles were alike impregnable to sophistry, flattery, or intimidation.

Maurice, released from this vigilance, hoped, by the agency of the Calvinists, to obtain for himself the reversion of absolute and hereditary sovereignty; for the States a pre-eminence in commerce, and for his nephew the possession of a kingdom. Too wary to overlook any individual who was likely to contribute to his success, the Prince had not forgotten to lavish on Abraham Scultetus whatever attentions could be gratifying to a vain, enthusiastic mind; and that minister returned to Heidelberg inflated with presumption, and eager to transfuse to his sovereign's breast those fantastic speculations on which he had allowed himself to dwell with complacency, until he began to consider the suggestions of ambition and fanaticism as the secret inspirations of heaven. At Heidelberg he was greeted with congratulations by all but Juliana, who sympa-

thized too deeply in the sentiments of Louisa Coligny not to distrust the principles which had prevailed in the Synod of Dort, and the allegations adduced against Barnevelt and his coadjutors. During the imprisonment of that virtuous statesman, Louisa had not dissembled her affliction; and neither she, or her son, Prince Henry, withdrew from the Arminian preachers, with one of whom, Utenbogard, she continued to live in cordial intimacy. The ignominious death of Barnevelt, which she had unavailingly sought to avert, renewed the sorrows of her early life, and, for the first time, yielding to despondency, she pathetically complained that since all whom she loved were marked for destruction, she must prepare to see in her son Henry the next devoted victim. As she survived this mournful presage but two years, she probably never renounced the suspicion that had given it birth, and in this single instance wronged the character of Maurice, who, however exasperated by the virulence of party, had never meditated hos-

tility against the brother he had adopted as a son.

It was from Louisa Coligny that Juliana discovered the ambitious views which Maurice and the Duke de Bouillon cherished for her eldest son, but which her sounder judgment utterly rejected. It was not, therefore alone for the friend or benefactor that she lamented Barnevelt's fate; she saw in it an intimate connection with Frederic's destiny. Neither sense nor piety had fortified her soul against those involuntary impressions of superstition in unison with the spirit of the age; and even in receiving the congratulations of friends, and witnessing the happiness of her children, she doubted whether she ought not to deprecate any new symbol of prosperity * as an awful indication that the fortunes of the Palatine House had arrived at that pinnacle, beyond which they could not advance without being precipitated in destruction.

* Spanheim's Mémoires de l'Electrice Louise Juliane.

CHAPTER VI.

COUNT THURN AND THE REVOLUTION OF PRAGUE.—PERIL OF KING FERDINAND.—GENEROUS CONDUCT OF FREDERIC.—CHOSEN BY THE STATES OF BOHEMIA.—DIVISIONS IN HIS COUNCIL.—DIFFERENT SENTIMENTS OF JULIANA AND ELIZABETH.—FREDERIC'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE CROWN OF BOHEMIA, AND DEPARTURE FOR HEIDELBERG.

THE first five years of Elizabeth's married life had flowed in peaceful prosperity. She had become the mother of three promising children, of whom the youngest was a daughter, afterwards so celebrated by the name of Elizabeth, Princess Palatine. During this interval her person had been improved, her character matured, the sportiveness of extreme youth had given place to a more

sedate and matronly deportment, and she acquired the unlimited empire of her husband's affection. Endeared to his mother and his sisters, idolized by his subjects, to whom her character was displayed only in acts of kindness and munificence, she seemed to be the favourite of felicity, and to have engrossed whatever of good or fair was allotted to female destiny. Formed for active pursuits, the pomp and pageantry of the court of Heidelberg could not long satisfy her ardent character; and she was happy to escape from the porphyry columns and silver chamber to the neighbouring woods and hills, where her fame as the first huntress of her age was universally acknowledged, and, as Maximilian of Bavaria remarked of her, she was not better known for her sylvan prowess than for her charities and munificence.* In those long and often fatiguing excursions it must not, however, be suppo..'d that Elizabeth's mind

* Wotton's Remains.

was wholly engrossed with rural pastime, or that she was absorbed by the scenes which met her eye. From childhood the condition of the Protestants had been to her the most interesting subject of speculation, and the sympathy she had originally yielded to their sufferings was now converted into an enthusiasm more generous, and scarcely less impassioned, than that of Abraham Scultetus, without the limitation of sectarian zeal or the asperity of party feeling.

The state of Bohemia was now the theme of universal discussion; and from those who flattered, or those who really participated in her sentiments, Elizabeth failed not to receive an exposition calculated to inflame her secret ambition. There was, however, one individual from whom she was likely to ascertain the truth; this was Baron Christopher d'Ilona, a young noble, distinguished for his rare and admirable attainments, and the numerous embassies he had conducted, of which the number nearly equalled the years of his life. Descended from an an-

cient family residing in Prussia, and among the younger of twelve sons, he had studied at the Universities of Altorf and Heidelberg, visited the Duke de Bouillon at Sedan, and travelled through Italy and France, visited the court of James, and that of almost every prince in Europe. Having embraced the religious opinions of Abraham Scultetus, he had been attached to the service of the Palatine family, and, after the marriage of Frederic, was repeatedly employed by him in political missions; of which the most important was to make a progress through the Upper Palatinate, ostensibly to report the state of that province, but, in reality, to watch the movements of the neighbouring kingdom of Bohemia, and cultivate a correspondence with certain nobles, who headed the popular party. On returning from this journey, Christopher was despatched to Saxony and Holland, when a new object engaged the attention of Europe; this was the far-famed comet of 1618, which attracted the gaze of politicians even more than the

notice of astronomers. So subordinate was the rank which genuine science held in that age to the reveries of astrology, that the aspect of this wandering orb was anxiously consulted as the type of fate; and those aberrations which to philosophic eyes revealed or illustrated the secret harmonies of nature, were in France supposed to foreshew another St. Bartholomew, in Holland were believed to predict death to Barnevelt; and whilst at Vienna its fiery atmosphere was contemplated as the symbol of destruction to heretics, at Heidelberg it was hailed as a harbinger of glory to the Protestant Union.* Amidst this diversity of

* See Brandt's History of the Reformation, 2d vol. Spanheim's Mémoires de l'Electrice Louise Juliane. Kevenhull. Theat. Europ. 9th vol. — From Howell's Letters it appears, that the comet excited no less interest in England, though referred to a most ignoble cause, namely, the death of Queen Anne. "At this "time," says Rushworth, "appeared a comet, which "was variously interpreted; by some supposed to por- "tend wars, by others to foreshew the Queen's death." Even in England the passion for judicial astrology and the habit of detailing and interpreting dreams were

opinions, the insurrection of Prague felicitously unfolded the object of the portentous illumination. Previous to that great event a commotion had been excited in Hungary by the artifices of Bethlem Gabor*, an enterprising adventurer, originally a poor gentleman of Transylvania, who, on the deposition of its prince, Bathori, had succeeded to his power and dignity, and now

not uncommon; but trifling were the superstitions of this country compared with the infatuation that prevailed on the Continent, more especially in Germany, where astrologers, alchemists, visionaries, prophets, and sorcerers contended with one another in extravagance and violence.

* Bethlem Gabor, whose real name was Gabriel Bethlem, a native of Transylvania, was well descended, though without patrimony, and long lived in such obscurity that when he was thirty years of age he could not gain credit for £20. His wife, like himself, was allied to nobility, and though without a portion, admirably qualified by her economy to save a fortune. Even after her husband's elevation, she disdained not to superintend the culinary arrangements, being considered the best cook in Europe; yet she sustained with ease her share in his dignities, and was once actually on the point of being publicly crowned as Queen of Hungary.—*Hart's Gustavus Adolphus.*

aspired to the possession of the kingdom of Hungary; the first example in modern times (the elective kingdom of Poland excepted) of a private individual breaking down the pale of royalty, and forcing his way to supreme dominion.

Encouraged by the success of Bethlem, the States of Bohemia, when convened according to custom by the imperial deputies, for the purpose of voting supplies, instead of evincing docility, proceeded to the palace, where they addressed a spirited remonstrance against the arbitrary interference of the Jesuits and other ecclesiastical authorities*, in violation of the privileges granted to the Protestants, and confirmed to them by the letters of majesty of the Emperors Rodolph and Mathias. Their complaints were received with a contempt which the chiefs of the popular party could no longer brook in silence, and by one of these the Em-

* The Archbishop of Prague had excluded Protestant ministers from their churches. See Schiller's Thirty Years' History.

peror's first commissioner was dragged from his seat to the window, from whence he was precipitated into the street. The same punishment was inflicted on two of his co-adjutors; and, what was most surprising, they all escaped injury by falling on a dung-hill, which, to the disgrace of a magnificent capital, had been collected under the windows of the palace.

The long-gathering tempest had now burst forth, and there was in Prague a man well fitted to direct its progress, Henry Mathias, Count Thurm, a native of Moravia, who possessed large estates in Bohemia, and in the wars waged against the Turks, had given unequivocal proofs of valour and fidelity. From early youth he had been enamoured of glory; but that passion was now absorbed in patriotic zeal to oppose the colossal tyranny of Spain and Austria. Even now, that he was declining in years, he glowed with enthusiasm to sustain the cause of civil and religious liberty. From the boldness of his speculations and the energy with

which he announced them, he appears to have been far superior to his compatriots, and nothing was wanting to his success, perhaps, but that he should have found ten other men of corresponding character, to have co-operated in his undertaking. Fired with the examples of Greece and Rome, he addressed the feudal nobles of Bohemia in a style well calculated to flatter the pride, or win the confidence of a generous people, insisting that after the insult which had been offered to the Emperor in the person of his deputies, concession would be abject and unavailing. "By our example," * he added, "liberty shall spread to every part of the "empire; and though there be some ap- "pearance of violence in our conduct, yet "reason and piety will excuse the fact. "There remains now no room for repent- "ance, and no plea for forgivenness. The "die is thrown. We must embrace free- "dom or the scaffold; men of principle, if "conquerors, men of conscience, and in-

* See Nani.

" dependent; but, if overcome, poor per-
" fidious beings, perjured, and rebellious
" traitors."

The effect of this oration was heightened by the majestic aspect of the speaker, from whose eyes emanated a glance of almost super-human intelligence. The enthusiasm of the nobles was quickly excited, and with one impulse the whole assembly took a solemn oath to be true to themselves, and the constitution sacred to their fathers; and never to desist from their just pretensions. To enforce this resolution a provisional administration was instantly formed, composed of thirty directors, of whom Count Thurm was in reality, the prime mover and dictator, and under whose guidance Prague instantly assumed a new aspect. No sooner had the warlike tabor resounded through the streets, than it was hailed with rapturous acclamations by the people; and at the invitation of their chief, a capitation *

* A priest or pastor, paid one gross miess.
A school master 30 gross miess.

was levied, from which neither man, nor woman, nor even servants were exempted. The Catholics concurred in the measure, and by the wisdom or benevolence of Thurm, with the exception of the Jesuits, who had been indiscriminately proscribed, not a single priest quitted the city. To each sect, each class was toleration allowed. The energy of Thurm, assisted probably by the genius and disinterested patriotism of Count Andreas Schlick, had suddenly developed political philosophy and civilization in a country hitherto enveloped in the prejudices and ignorance belonging to an antiquated system. The nation, that at least which was included within the walls of the capital,

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A cook, male or female, was assessed 3 miess.

A tailor, 1 miess.

A sempstress, 1 miess.

A washerwoman, 5 mites.

A fiddler or piper, 30 miess.

A jockey, a groom — drover — a wood cutter — a fowler with one gun — a carrier with one cart, were assessed in proportion.—*Kevenhuller*, vol. 9th.

seemed to have passed at once from night to day, from infancy to maturity. It might excite surprise, that Count Thurm never attempted, after the example of the States of Holland, to establish a republican government; but it appears probable he had discovered that Bohemia was too partially enlightened, and without the energy or union necessary to maintain, unaided, its independence. It was still more honourable to his sense and patriotism, that, instead of aiming, like Bethlem Gabor, to appropriate to himself the kingdom he had wrested from the imperial eagle, he sought only to transfer the sceptre to a prince of his own persuasion, the splendidly allied, and hitherto exemplary Elector Palatine. Even for Frederic, however, he durst not immediately propose a total separation from the Germanic empire.

In reality, there might be some who admitted the hereditary claims of Mathias *;

* "That the kingdom of Bohemia," says the judicious Le Vassor, "was originally elective cannot be doubted; and that it never became an hereditary fief of the

but there could be none, however, ill-informed, who did not discover the illegality

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empire is evident, since its sovereign was an Elector, an office to which females were ineligible. In the charters given by the emperor, it is expressly stated, that the Bohemians enjoy the privilege of electing their sovereigns. In referring to history, it appears that the heirs male of Ottocarus (the first king) having failed,—the States chose John of Luxembourg, son of the Emperor Henry the Seventh, who, desiring to exchange the kingdom for the Palatinate, was by the States opposed on the ground, that such a procedure militated against their privilege of election. In default of male issue to Sigismond, the last king in the house of Luxembourg, the States chose the Archduke Albert who had espoused his daughter. On his death the crown was offered to the Duke of Bavaria, by whom it was declined from a scruple of conscience, and finally given to George Podiebrad a powerful noble, after whose decease it was bestowed on Ladislaus, son of Casimir, King of Poland; who had married a grand-daughter of Sigismond. The States then elected Ferdinand, afterwards Emperor, married to the daughter of Ladislaus, from which epoch the crown of Bohemia reverted to the house of Austria: but Ferdinand, and his successors Rodolphus and Mathias solemnly acknowledged that they owed the crown to the free choice of the Bohemians. The election of Ferdinand the Second, previous to the death of Mathias, was notoriously

of Ferdinand's election. This prince had originally succeeded to his hereditary dominions in Stiria and Carinthia, from whence heresy had been speedily extirpated. At the close of his reign, Mathias having abdicated Bohemia, Ferdinand was by a few nobles chosen and declared King. Shortly after, he became King of the Romans; but both before and after the death of his predecessor, had shewn himself adverse to the protestants, and inimical to the civil liberties of Bohemia.

In the meanwhile, Frederic, though not displeased at the conduct of Count Thurm, took a journey to Bavaria, purposely that he might persuade Maximilian of Bavaria to become a candidate for the empire, in

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unconstitutional, having been accomplished by clandestine means, and without a fair representation of the States, above all, without those solemn assurances, on the part of the king, to preserve the laws and privileges of the people, which had hitherto been deemed indispensable to the engagement.—(Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis treize, pour l'an 1619.)

place of Ferdinand; pledging to him, not only his own suffrage, but the support of all the princes of the union. But Maximilian, though ambitious, was too wary to suffer himself to be seduced from his fidelity to the house of Hapsburgh, by a Prince who enjoyed those electoral privileges for which his ancestors had so often contended. An adept in duplicity, he received, not without distrust, a proposition which he ascribed less to Frederic, than to the suggestions of the Duke de Bouillon, and Maurice of Nassau, to whose aspiring views and refined policy he was no stranger, and whose interference with the German constitution he at once dreaded and abhorred. With measured courtesy therefore, he declined the Elector's offer, on the convenient plea, that conscience and honour forbade him to listen to any overtures which militated against his engagements to the Emperor, and the King of the Romans. With this answer Frederic departed, leaving Maximilian at no loss to

divine that his kinsman would be tempted to accept the crown of Bohemia, an enterprise from which he anticipated happy results to his own family. Satisfied with having discharged his duty, the Elector returned to Heidelberg, baffled, yet perhaps secretly gratified with the conviction, that, in spite of himself, he might hereafter be compelled to accept a kingdom. Of that kingdom, however, he was not yet assured: the States of Bohemia were notoriously addicted to sudden sallies of passion and enthusiasm, which often assumed the character of inconstancy and caprice. Conscious that he was not the only prince to whom they might be disposed to surrender their crown, he despatched Baron D'Hona, to ratify his concurrence in the election of the Duke of Saxony, if such should be their choice, reserving a veto only for a Catholic sovereign. Having taken * these precautions, Frederic contented himself with

* Theat. Europe. Mémoires de l'Electrice Louise Juliane. Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis Treize.

looking on, whilst, with the common craft of politicians, the directors of Prague, and the cabinet of Vienna continued to temporize — each party affecting to throw the blame on the other. The pen being brandished, the sword was unsheathed — the States published an elaborate apology and at the same time, appointed the celebrated Ernest, Count Mansfield to organize the army, upon the success of which they well knew the validity of their pretensions must ultimately depend. *

With no less duplicity, the Emperor and King Ferdinand admitted the mediation of

* In conformity to popular prejudices, and national associations Count Thurm and the directors insisted, that Bohemia was an elective monarchy; although it was their boast, that the succession had been transmitted in the female line from Premislaus, during seven centuries. It was, however, well attested that the bond between the sovereign and his subjects, was founded on a solemn agreement to preserve, uninjured, the liberties of the people; on this also had been founded the letters of majesty, given to the Emperors Rodolph and Mathias, which, in the late ecclesiastical usurpations, had been grossly impugned

the Elector Palatine, but expedited a large army to subjugate the rebellious province. The States passed from petition and apology to remonstrance and defiance; until the dissolution of the Emperor Mathias put an end to all negociation. By that event Bohemia was held to be absolved from allegiance. The election of Ferdinand had been forced and unconstitutional; and this conviction was strengthened by the discovery that the late Emperor had actually bequeathed, by will, the reversion of their kingdom to Spain, in default of heirs to Ferdinand; an outrage which, even to the scrupulous and the timid, not only justified, but hallowed rebellion.

At this crisis the position of Ferdinand was such as might have appalled the stoutest courage: without friends or allies, distrustful of his own safety, and even of that of his children, he was suddenly besieged, even in his palace, by a band of Bohemians, one of whom abruptly rushing to his chamber, fiercely demanded that he should either

abdicate or sign the declaration of Bohemian liberty. At this moment Ferdinand heard the trumpet that sounded his rescue, which a single company of Imperialists had effected. Too brave to become an assassin, the noble rebel quitted the apartment, leaving the monarch more than ever confirmed in the belief which his mother's dying lips had impressed on his mind, that intolerant bigotry would inevitably secure him the favour of Heaven.*

* It appears, however, that Ferdinand, to amuse the States, had previously written to them, offering the very conditions he had refused to subscribe; but as this paper was not addressed to the directors, it was not answered. An armistice was afterwards proposed to the Bohemian generals, who referred it to the provisional government. Lastly, Ferdinand demanded that a deputation should be sent to Vienna. To this Thurm replied by marching a thousand men into Moravia and enticing that province to join the confederacy. From Moravia, Thurm passed into Austria, where he met not the same success; for though there were Protestants in that province, yet, with the cautious policy peculiar to their character, they pleaded their obligations to the Archduke Albert, and remained

Whilst Ferdinand opposed firmness to danger, Frederic was at once dazzled and dismayed with visions of greatness and glory. He was no stranger to the projects of Count Thurm; and the probability of his ascending the throne of Bohemia had long been forced on his mind by his two uncles, Maurice of Nassau and the Duke de Bouillon, both of whom treated with derision the idea that such a kingdom ought to be rejected. According to the judicious Puffendorf, Louis Camerarius, the chancellor, voted for his acceptance of Bohemia; for which he adduced reasons more congenial to the soldier than the jurisconsult. "Fortune," said he to Frederic, "commonly declares "for the brave; and it would be unworthy "of your rank to reject that which every "other sovereign would be disposed to seek. "Neither would such self-denial gain credit "with mankind for moderation, but rather

neutral. It was after this ill success that he penetrated to Vienna, where he had nearly surprised the Emperor. — *Schmidt's History of the Germans.*

" incur the odium of meanness and pusillani-
" mity." Yet, in reality, what evils have you
" to anticipate? Who is the emperor you
" have to oppose? Is he like Charles the
" Fifth, at the head of a victorious army?
" No, but shut up in Gratz*, and conscious
" that he would be unsafe in Vienna.
" Bethlem takes from him Hungary; Bo-
" hemia, Moravia, Silesia, Lusatia are ready
" to embrace your interests. Almost the
" whole of Austria is eager to shake off the
" yoke of Ferdinand. Where shall he find
" forces to attack you? The succours which
" he expects from Italy and the Low Coun-

* " What alternative had Ferdinand but to cut his
" way through rebels, adversaries, and recreants to
" Frankfort? What hope was left him, and who
" would have been bold enough to take his place?
" There were even some of the Catholic party advised
" a compromise with the enemies of the Apostolic
" faith; but never did that high-minded prince hesi-
" tate, never falter in his resolution to be true to that
" God, who, in a manner passing the understanding of
" men, has since brought him over the Red Sea, and
" made his adversary the herald of his triumph." —
Kevenhuller's Annals, ninth volume.

" tries cannot easily pass to Germany. The
" States-General of the United Provinces
" shall presently furnish occupation for the
" Spaniards; and although the truce with
" the Catholic King is about to expire, the
" Prince of Orange will raise both men
" and money to assist you. The King of
" Great Britain is your father-in-law, the
" King of Denmark your ally, the Pro-
" testant Princes of Germany will readily
" concur in an enterprize so glorious, so
" useful to the Reformation; even the court
" of France, though at present hostile to
" your design, probably assumed that repug-
" nance to satisfy the Pope, when, in reality,
" it would rejoice to see Austria despoiled
" of so fair a possession. Whatever may be
" the result, it is impossible that France,
" England, Denmark, the United States,
" and the Protestant Princes of Germany
" shall remain tame spectators of the ruin of
" your house. In fact, there is here nothing
" for your highness to lose, and much to
" gain; but were there even more dif-

" culty and peril, it would well become a " courageous prince to run some risk for " glory."*

Far different was the sentiment of Louisa Juliana, when, with tears in her eyes, she represented the wealth and might of the House of Austria, its disciplined armies, its able generals, its moral and physical strength. She observed, that " the affairs of the em- " pire might soon be retrieved: and that " the Pope would convoke all Catholics to " defend the Emperor. The King of " France, however inimical to Austria," she added, " is not in a state to oppose its pow- " er. The King of Spain will eagerly sus- " tain it. As to the King of Great Britain, " believe me, you little understand him if " you persuade yourself he will break with " Spain for your interests. On my brother " Maurice there is more reliance to be " placed; but the States will not sacrifice " Holland for the Palatinate. What aid can " you expect from the King of Denmark?

* Le Vassor. Spanheim.

" he is too far distant. The houses of Sax-
" ony and Bavaria are already jealous of
" yours, and will heartily concur in driving
" you from Bohemia. Trust not too much
" to the Protestant Union. In an association
" composed of so many different interests,
" the movements must be slow, and the
" Union will easily be broken by the Em-
" peror's promises or threats. The Prince
" of Transylvania is fickle and inconstant:
" so long as success shall follow your banner
" he will be faithful; but if you once en-
" counter defeat, he will desert you for the
" Emperor. Distrust still more the Bo-
" hemians. If they offer their crown, it is
" not that they love you better than ano-
" ther prince, but that they have no other
" resource. Do not flatter yourself they
" shall be more constant to you than they
" have been to Ferdinand; but even though
" you could depend on your kinsmen, your
" allies, your friends, your subjects, you
" have neither troops nor treasures adequate
" to the charges of war, and never can hope

" to obtain the general suffrage until you " shall be insured against defeat." *

The arguments of Juliana prevailed over the opinions of Camerarius ; and would probably have decided Frederic's conduct, but that they were counteracted by the more powerful influence of Elizabeth, to whose youth and sanguine temper, caution and prudence assumed the aspect of meanness and pusillanimity. Whilst he was thus vacillating, he heard, with no small consternation, that Ferdinand had forced his way from Vienna to Frankfort, and was actually on the eve of his coronation ; but soon consoled himself, or at least attempted to console Elizabeth with the assurance, that Ferdinand was generally detested ; and, if he obtained the imperial diadem, must inevitably forfeit two regal crowns, those of Hungary and Bohemia. †

* Spanheim, Mémoires de l'Electrice Louise Juliane.

† Bromley's Royal Letters. —— " Je n'ai rien eu " de Boheme cette semaine, mais il y a apparence

Again did Frederic send deputies to Frankfort to offer his suffrage to the Elector of Bavaria or the Duke of Saxony; whilst he transported himself to the frontier town of Amberg, from whence he transmitted fresh instructions to Baron D'Hona, at Prague, purporting that if the election to that kingdom should rather fall on the Duke of Saxony than himself, he was ready to signify his cheerful and cordial concurrence in the nomination. In that event, he protested, and no doubt ought to rest on the sincerity of his professions, that he was willing to support the pretensions of the Protestant monarch. Unfortunately, Frederic was not destined to find a single ally equally honourable and faithful. During the last three months his breast had been agitated with conflicting passions: naturally aspiring, he recoiled at the difficulties inseparable from a great enterprize, and, with a tacit

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" qu'en la place qui Ferdinand acquerra une couronne " à Frankfort, il en pourroit bien perdre deux—Dieu " lui en fasse grace."—*Amberg, Aout* 1619.

acknowledgment of inferiority, strove to collect opinions, wasted in deliberation the time that should have sufficed for decision and action, and not unfrequently, after a minute calculation of consequences, took that part which had been least approved by his better judgment. With Elizabeth it was otherwise: naturally courageous, she was little disposed to calculate or to shrink from the consequences of an heroic enterprize, and scorned to pause between dangers and glory.

Accustomed, from infancy, to consider the establishment of the Protestant faith as the noblest of human achievements, she could ill brook the coldness with which Frederic treated the intimation of his approaching elevation. She rallied him on his caution; and he was asked by his counsellors, how he, who had aspired to a king's daughter, could refuse to make her, like her mother, a queen?* Frederic was but too feel-

* In Larrey's History of England, it is pretended that Elizabeth herself asked Frederic, "How he could

ingly alive to ridicule; but he could not openly reject the affectionate counsels of his mother, seconded by the Duke de Deux-ponts and all his relatives, who represented that neither the eloquence of the Duke de Bouillon, nor the wisdom of Maurice of Nassau, could preserve unanimity among the Bohemians, notoriously fickle and inconstant, and of whom the majority was composed of Catholics and Lutherans, equally inimical to the catechism of Heidelberg.

In listening to his mother, Frederic had commonly acquiesced in her opinions; but a glance from Elizabeth repelled the cautious convictions, so ill according with her romantic character. By the one, he was warned not to expose his country and his family to the

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" dare to marry a king's daughter, if he feared to ac-
" cept a regal crown ?" But this passage is not to be found in Kevenhuller, or that most impartial compilation, the Theatre of Europe, nor in any contemporary historian; yet is it inserted by Schiller in his Thirty Years' War.

mischief of defeat; by the other, he was urged not to abandon that party to the mercy of an unrelenting foe. Juliana besought him not to sacrifice his hereditary states for a chimerical possession; whilst Elizabeth appealed to his honour, as a prince and a cavalier, and to his humanity as a Christian, by the love he bore to his children, by the esteem he hoped to merit from posterity, not to abandon the great, perhaps the only chance ever to be presented of arresting the triumphant bigotry of Spain, and sundering the chains of Austrian tyranny. The Electress was powerfully supported by Count Hohenloe and other military commanders, who panted for distinction, and were not indifferent to the profits derived from war. Equally favourable was the opinion of the Prince of Anhalt, whose ambition was of a less sordid cast, and whose son, Prince Christian, was idolized for his chivalrous gallantry. With all these auxiliaries, Elizabeth might have failed in producing the conviction she wished, but

for the agency of Scultetus, who laboured to impress on his master's mind, that his acceptance of the crown was a divine ordination. Prophets had lately arisen, to whose visionary promises this preacher gave implicit credence. A chapter of the Revelations had already been so expounded as to sanction the enterprise of Frederic, under whose banner truth was to spread to the most remote parts of the German empire; and by whose interposition all were to be reclaimed from idolatry, to the pure and uncorrupted faith of the gospel.

It was with a mind distracted by conflicting counsels, that Frederic repaired to Amberg; and it was probably some relief to his suspense, to anticipate the election of the Duke of Saxony, and to resolve to be true to his rival: but his magnanimity was not put to this test; George William was negatived by the States, as were the Duke of Savoy and the King of Denmark. To the Duke of Savoy it was objected, that he was a papist, and incompetent to

their protection: to the King of Denmark, that he could not reside within their realm, and that their interests would be sacrificed to those of his native dominions. With regard to the Duke of Saxony, it was remarked, that he would not be sufficiently independent to maintain their cause against an emperor; and that, being a Lutheran, he would naturally abandon the minor party of Calvinists. In favour of Frederic, it was maintained that his hereditary dominions were fair and flourishing, and by their proximity to Bohemia, invited alliance; that he was in the flower of youth, of unexceptionable morals, eminently good and pious, nobly allied, unincumbered with debt, and too rich to be oppressive to his subjects*;

* By the ministerial partisans of James the First, it is constantly maintained, that the crown of Bohemia was rejected by the Dukes of Saxony and Savoy; but it appears from the Theatre of Europe, of which the authority is founded on authentic documents, that both these Princes were by the States pronounced ineligible. It is, however, not improbable that a private application had been previously made to them by the emissaries of the Bohemian States.

that he was closely connected with the States, in the confidence of the Duke de Bouillon, and by marriage entitled to protection from the King of Great Britain; that in his religion he was indeed a Calvinist, but, as there were comparatively few of that persuasion in Bohemia, this difference would not be found to militate against the welfare of the community. These representations produced the desired effect, and the suffrages were united in favour of Frederic. *

Although the Elector had been prepared for this notification, he did not receive it without agitation, conscious that he could no longer evade the necessity of making a decision, by which he must inevitably inflict pain where he loved. "Alas," cried he to the Duke of Wirtemberg, "if I accept "of the crown, I shall be accused of am- "bition—if I reject it, I shall be branded "with cowardice. However I may decide, "there is no peace for me or my country."† In uttering these words, he shed tears; but

* Theatre of Europe. † Wotton's Letters.

immediately repaired to Rottembourg, to submit the proposition to the princes of the Union, and at the same time despatched official letters to Heidelberg to his privy council, with a private communication to Elizabeth. The council immediately assembled, among whom appeared the Duke de Deuxponts, the prudent Camerarius, John, Count of Nassau, and the brave though ambitious Schomberg. * By some of these, more especially the Duke de Deuxponts, the opinions of Juliana were urged with force, and the majority evidently inclined to suspend the decision of the question, until advice should have been received from the various parties consulted — and above all others, the king of Great Britain. Alarmed at this intimation, and perfectly comprehending from what motives delay was recommended, the impetuous Count Schomberg, who believed that his master only sought a pretext to adopt the wishes of Elizabeth, eagerly announced to the as-

* Moser's Patriotisch. Archiv.

sembly, that the Elector regarded the invitation of Bohemia as a vocation from God, and that he was internally persuaded he could not conscientiously resist its dictates.* At this Camerarius expressed a similar conviction; and other councillors observed, it would ill become the Elector, who had espoused a king's daughter, to shrink from the consequences of accepting a crown. The impulse was now given to pride and principle, and having concurred in the sentiments of Camerarius, the council broke up, with an unanimous assent. No sooner was the result of its deliberations communicated to Juliana, than, with a sad and overwhelming persuasion of evil, she took to her bed, devouring her grief in silence.

With far different feelings did Elizabeth peruse the letter which demanded her opinions; to which, in conformity with Schom-

* It should seem from Moser's Patriotisches Archives (7th volume), that this reply had been previously transmitted to Frederic at Amberg.

berg's declaration, she gave the following prompt reply: "Since you are persuaded "that the throne to which you are invited "is a vocation from God, by whose Provi- "dence are all things ordained and di- "rected, then assuredly you ought not to "shrink from the duty imposed; nor, if such "be your persuasion, shall I repine what- "ever consequences may ensue, not even "though I should be forced to part from my "last jewel, and to suffer actual hardships, "shall I ever repent of the election."* In these few words spoke the ardour, the courage, the confidence of Elizabeth; nor let it be suspected, that the religious style she employed was hypocritically adopted. Unpractised in political manœuvres, her ingenuous nature often precipitated her to an imprudent frankness, the reverse of duplicity or deliberate falsehood. But she, perhaps, deceived herself into the belief that

* Moser's Patriotisches Archiv. (See Note at the end of the volume.) These were Elizabeth's own words.

the interest she took in Bohemia was purely for the sake of religious liberty; her sympathies were excited, her enthusiasm exalted by an ambition, originating less in the desire of power than the love of glory. Born in tempestuous times, amidst the struggles of religious parties, she held it base, if not criminal, to withhold from the oppressed, the aid necessary to enable them to resist the oppressor. Abhorring popery, and the despotic sway which its priestly rulers had so long assumed over mankind, she fervently desired to become an instrument in the great work of regenerating Europe. She lived in an age familiar with daring efforts and heroic achievements, when all things seemed possible to the bold adventurer, and nothing was wanting but a powerful effort to trample down impediments, long held to be insuperable. The spirit of proselytism, of independence was afloat; the antient barrier of knowledge was removed; the fabric of the Gothic ages was mouldering away; even the Moslems were believed to have turned their eyes from

the east towards the gospel light. If wise men might be credited, the doctrines of Calvin had penetrated to the Grand Seignior's seraglio.*

At such a crisis, it was scarcely possible the ardent Elizabeth should remain untouched with that religious enthusiasm, so congenial to an aspiring soul. Educated in the gay luxurious court of James, she delighted in scenes of splendour, but still more in anticipations of dignity to the father of her children; and she passionately desired to see him hailed as the chieftain of his party, the deliverer of his sect, and the benefactor of posterity. Naturally more sanguine than patient, she rejected with disdain those suspicions of the Unionists and of the Bohemians, which the experience of Juliana had suggested. The very idea appeared to her to attaint the honour of Frederic and of the Correspondents. In Prince Anhalt and Count Thurm she had equal faith; and she lamented that deliberations should take place of

* See Sir Thomas Roe's Letters and Negotiations.

action, and chill that ardour which is the soul of enterprize. If in this she was presumptuous, she grounded her convictions on the judgment of a great statesman, habitually discreet and eminently fortunate in his various undertakings. Maurice, Prince of Orange, in answer to some objections to Frederic's acceptance of the crown of Bohemia, facetiously exclaimed, "Is there any "green cloth sold in Heidelberg?"—"To "what purpose?" replied the interlocutor. "Oh! merely to make a fool's cap for the "man that could propose such a silly "question."—In reality, had Maurice been in the place of Frederic, he would probably have conquered Ferdinand at Vienna, ere he had joined the directors at Prague. In a daring enterprize, the bold only can achieve success. In a perilous position, it is the elastic, not the cautious step that avoids destruction.

From Amberg, Frederic passed to Rottembourg to consult the Princes of the Union, having previously despatched letters

to King James, to the Dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, and the ecclesiastical Electors, to apprize them of the overture, and demand their unequivocal opinion.

From the Dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, Frederic received such counsels as are commonly administered by those who seek rather to secure indemnity to themselves, than to afford support to their allies. John George admitted the justice of his cause, but besought him to reflect, that he might hazard the loss of his own hereditary dominions. Maximilian addressed a gentle dissuasive, tempered with professions of esteem and friendship, which were well calculated to lull into security his intended victim. Like the Duke of Saxony, he reminded him that the Bohemians, though vehement, were fickle in their attachments, sooner lost than won, and that motives of interest alone had determined their choice. The spiritual Electors, who were all Catholics, vehemently reprobated the measure, whilst the Princes of the Union bestowed on

it unqualified commendation, to which they added, the most cordial assurances of support and co-operation. Under existing circumstances, those princes had obviously no alternative, but to cede, to compromise, or to overcome. Nor perhaps were they displeased that Frederic should stand foremost in the dangers of an enterprise which at present wore an auspicious aspect; but from which, if unsuccessful, they should still have the power to retreat. Encouraged by their suffrage, Frederic no longer hesitated to notify to the States of Bohemia his acceptance of their kingdom, and hastened to Heidelberg to prepare for his immediate departure. His meeting with Juliana was painful; but although he was sensible he had deceived her expectations, tears and sighs were her only reproaches; whilst the eyes of Elizabeth, radiant with hope and enthusiasm, seemed to discredit all gloomy presages, and infused into Frederic's more doubtful mind, a portion of her own energy and con-

fidence. That he was, however, unsatisfied with his own decisions, or apprehensive that they might subject him to censure, appears from the extraordinary solicitude which he displayed to sanctify with the name of religious necessity the desertion of his hereditary dominions; and the better to persuade his subjects and allies, that he was alone impelled by a sacred sense of duty to transport himself to the scene of warfare, he renounced all ordinary amusements, discarded his dogs and horses, solemnly declaring he must forego even the most innocent pastimes until the great object of his mission should be accomplished.

To provide for the concerns of his own subjects, he reinstated the Duke de Deuxponts in the administration, and conjured Juliana to resume her place in the council; but it was with a mournful presentiment that this wise and virtuous woman yielded to his entreaties; and little was she consoled by an accession of dignity for the separation from her son, and the abandonment of

that peaceful retirement in which she had hoped to spend her declining age.

During the few days that intervened before their departure, the royal pair paid visits to those friends, who sympathised in their present prospects; for the last time, Elizabeth walked among the beautiful plantations which had been created for her delight, and once more listened to the water music, and to those lulling symphonies which had no power to suspend the stirring dreams of fancy; nor could she leave without regret, the people by whom she saw herself idolized, the home that many happy recollections had endeared, and the adopted mother, for whom she had never ceased to cherish filial affection.

The day preceding that of their journey, being the Sabbath, was spent in strict devotion. "A portentous gloom," says an eye-witness*, "overspread the face of na-

* Letter written by an English visitor; printed in a volume of Tracts on German History, 1620.

" ture — the people wept, the clouds poured
" down torrents — no where was seen the
" smile of joy. Early in the morning the
" Elector, with his eldest son, Henry Fre-
" deric, now in his sixth year, repaired to
" the great church of Heidelberg to offer
" oblation and sacrifice to the Most High.
" No sooner was this duty performed, than
" Frederic, not without tears, pronounced
" a solemn valediction to the people, who,
" with an involuntary movement, clasping
" their hands in agony, implored for him
" and his house the divine benediction.
" When he passed through the church, sighs
" were sobbed forth, grief was audible;
" every eye followed his steps, every heart
" dwelt on his parting accents; and when
" they no longer saw his form, they ex-
" patiated on his virtuous administration.
" Never had any sovereign been more truly
" beloved." In like manner, Elizabeth and her English household performed their devotions in her private chapel, where a sermon was preached by Dr. Chapman,

which, in the judgment of the relator, ought to have been heard at Paul's Cross: the text, he observes, was not only appropriate, but in a manner prophetic.*

In the afternoon, Frederic again repaired to the church with his son, Henry Frederic, and was again received with strong emotion. The evening was spent in religious exercises or in administering consolation to the bereaved Juliana; and the next morning, at an early hour, the royal family entered their travelling carriage without pomp or state, accompanied by their suite, who filled eighteen other coaches, including all Elizabeth's English ladies and a few young German girls of high rank, among whom was Amelia, the beautiful daughter of Count Albert

* "Go to now, ye that say to-day or to-morrow we "will go to such a city, and continue there a year, and "buy and sell, and get gain; whereas ye know not "what shall be in the morrow; for what is your life? "it is even but as a breath, that appeareth for a time, "and then vanisheth away: for that ye ought to say, "if the Lord will, we shall live and do this."

Solms, afterwards much endeared to her royal mistress. At this affecting moment the visionary diadem appears to have been no longer regarded: tears stood in Frederic's eyes, when, for the last time, he heard the prayers of his affectionate subjects, and their grateful benedictions, mingled with aspirations for his future welfare and felicity; to which all spontaneously echoed a solemn amen. Abstracted from objects of ambition, the fervour of genuine enthusiasm is irresistible, and even the little Prince Henry appears to have caught its expression. "There was "none," adds the *witness*, "but discerned "something extraordinary in the aspect of "this hopeful young prince; but, above all, "delightful was the demeanour of that great "lady, who, the tears trickling down her "cheeks, was mild, courteous, and affable, "yet with a proper degree of state, like an- "other Queen Elizabeth, the Phœnix of the "world. Gone is that sweet princess, with "her *now* more than princely consort, to- "wards the place where his army attendeth,

" shewing herself like that virago of Til-
" bury, another Queen Elizabeth; for so
" she now is, and what more she *may be* in
" time, or her royal issue, is in God's hand,
" for the good and glory of his *church.**
" Such a lady going before, and marching
" in the front, who would not adventure life
" and covet death? It is the manner of
" the Moors, in their deadly battles, to
" choose one of their fairest virgins to go
" before them in the field: for her to be
" surprised they would deem an everlasting
" shame, and therefore rather fight to the
" last man. And shall we suffer our prin-
" cess, our only royal *infanta*, to go to the
" field, and not follow her? Then are we

* The writer of this poetical eulogium on Elizabeth seems to have been impressed with a vague presentiment that Frederic was to ascend the imperial throne, and present to the world the phenomenon of a Protestant Emperor. Nor was he in this, singular; an intimation of the same extravagant character had been made even at the period of Elizabeth's marriage, as appears from the most prosaic, untunable lines quoted in the third chapter.

" worse than the very infidels, who, at the " last day, shall rise in judgment against " us."

The predilection inspired by Frederic's late conduct in Heidelberg was not universal. To the Lutherans the Elector was an object of distrust: the blind deference he yielded to Scultetus, to whom was in part imputed the intolerant sentiments of the Synod of Dort, was already but too well known; and so unfavourable was the impression produced in Saxony, that the court chaplain pathetically deplored that the election should have fallen on an *Evangelist*. " Heaven have mercy on us," he writes, " in what respect are these Evan- " gelists better than the Papists? And even " more intolerant than the Papist shall we " find the turbulent spirit of Calvinism, if " it should once be established among us. " Pity it is, and, in truth, thrice pitiful, that " so many fine countries, and brave, stout- " hearted people, should fall under the yoke " of Calvin. What avails it to have been

" released from Antichrist of the west, if " his rival of the east be permitted to usurp " over us?"

The prejudices of this honest Lutheran will cease to appear extraordinary, when we recollect that, by the decree of the Synod of Dort, all Arminian preachers had been interdicted in the Batavian States, and the penalties of fine, imprisonment, or proscription and confiscation, denounced on all who should contumaciously persist either in promulgating or openly countenancing the detestable doctrines of the remonstrants.*

* Several thousands emigrated: a colony of Arminians settled in Holstein. To the original friends and partizans of Barnevelt no mercy was extended: the sons of Barnevelt were deprived of their patrimony: Hugo Grotius, condemned to perpetual imprisonment, escaped by the spirited enterprize of his wife, whose conduct, however meritorious, is not singular nor even rare. To the honour of the female sex, our own times have produced many corresponding examples of energy and conjugal attachment; in the far greater part of which the effort was made, not for a devoted but an unfaithful husband, and by whom the sacrifice was neither merited nor requited.

CHAPTER VII.

JOURNEY OF FREDERIC AND ELIZABETH TO PRAGUE.—THE THREE TOWNS.—THE VARIOUS INHABITANTS.—THE CORONATION.—VARIOUS CONGRATULATIONS.—THE BIRTH OF PRINCE RUPERT.

It was not until the 17th century that the affairs of Bohemia became implicated with the general concerns of Europe. During many revolving ages their annals had been interesting only to neighbouring countries. With their early chronicles were intermingled romantic fables, corresponding rather with oriental traditions than the history of a civilized people. In Prague, as in Heidelberg, the inquisitive and the credulous were conducted to an antique tower where once

had dwelt Lilybussa *, the heiress of Duke Croceus, a prophetess, like Jetha Buhel, or, as others affirm, an enchantress, but whose arts and blandishments failed to reconcile the Bohemians to a female sovereign. The fair magician, who had secretly espoused a peasant youth named Premislaus, had, however, the address to induce the Bohemians to elect the object of her preference for their rightful prince, with whom she was associated as the partner of his sovereignty The descendants of Premislaus were, like himself, brave and prosperous. In 1060, one of these princes, Duke Wratislaus, obtained from the Emperor, Henry the Fourth, the title of king, with the privileges of an Elector of the Roman empire; in return for which concessions he did homage to that chief, and acknowledged him his liege lord. The dynasty of Premislaus and Lilybussa continued to flourish until the 14th century, when the last prince dying without heirs, the sceptre passed into the House of Luxem-

* Kevenhuller's Annals, ninth volume.

bourg, but afterwards, by marriage, was restored to the race of Premislaus. It was first united to the empire in the person of Charles the Fourth, that sagacious monarch, who, to win the hearts of his subjects, conversed with them in their native language, whether Flemish, German, or Sclavonian, and, to gain the esteem of other princes, invited to his court men of learning. Finally, he remodelled the University of Prague on the plan of that of Paris, with which he was familiarly acquainted, and, by his enlightened munificence, accelerated the progress of civilization. Under his auspices the collegial walls of Prague, filled with able scholars and intelligent pupils, became also the school of religious freedom. It was to this seminary that John Huss, the disciple of Wickliffe, transplanted the germs of the Reformation, which took deep root in Bohemia, and survived the immolation of its illustrious founder. Gaining strength from persecution, its partizans soon kindled in the city of Prague the flames of rebellion. It was in 1419 that

Zisca, the great champion of the Hussites, raised the standard of revolt against the government of the Emperor Sigismond, on whose pernicious ministers had been previously inflicted the punishment awarded by national usage to flagitious statesmen, that of being precipitated from the window. The banner of Huss was victorious; and its chief was on the point of extorting advantageous terms of peace, when either poison or pestilence terminated his course.* Exasperated, not dispirited, by the death of their great leader, his ferocious followers, in the spirit of the old Scythians, sounded the alarum to war on a tambour which was said to be covered with Zisca's skin; and animated by the belief that his spirit still watched over their efforts, fought heroically to conquer or die. Alarmed by their obstinacy, the Emperor had recourse to negotiation, or rather to corruption. The cupidity of the chiefs, and the arrogance of the nobles, conspired to his design; and, finally, the Hussites were

* Kevenhuller.

expelled from Prague. A small remnant escaping to the mountains, alone remained to preserve from total extinction the sect which had lately been powerful and triumphant; so little stability is to be found in principles which have been disseminated by military fanaticism. At the era of Luther's mission, the Hussites, or Thaborites, emerging from obscurity, contributed essentially to the rapid progress of the Reformation in Bohemia, from whence it spread to Hungary and the neighbouring provinces. Within the last fifty years a diversity of religious tenets had been tolerated in Prague; but this liberality was rather derived from the habits induced by an extensive commerce with foreign nations, than from the influence of knowledge and civilization. It was remarkable that the late revolution had commenced with an outrage on the imperial ministers, exactly similar to that which, two centuries before, had ushered in the insurrection of Zisca. To judge from that example, the habits of general society

should seem to be little ameliorated, and, least of all, in the nobility, who, insulated from the public by feudal privileges, for the greater part retained the rudeness of their ancestors, and mingled with it the prodigality, without the refinements, of more polished contemporaries. Under the late Emperors the academical institutions of Prague had languished; the University could no longer boast of its thousand scholars, nor was a John Huss or a Jerome to be discovered in the capital. Even in the clergy there was a dearth of talent: the Catholic priests were bigoted and pompous, the Lutheran ministers luxurious and suspicious; the minor sect of the Hussites displayed more ability, but mediocrity was universal. Among the burghers were few men enlightened enough to comprehend the public good, or sufficiently virtuous to sacrifice their petty passions to a common cause.

Fondly attached to the traditions of their forefathers, the nobles, even while they boasted of the line of princes descended from

Premislaus, insisted that the crown was originally and essentially elective, and that in deposing Ferdinand they merely resumed the right so long suspended by the usurpation of their Austrian lords. By Count Thurm, and his more enlightened partizans, the deposition of Ferdinand was, with reason, grounded on the illegality of his election under the late Emperor Mathias, and his infringement of the letters of majesty granted by his predecessors. Unable to communicate to the States his own sound and liberal views of policy, Thurm often succeeded in kindling their enthusiasm by his impassioned eloquence. "Woe unto you, Bohemians," he exclaimed, "woe unto you and your pos-
"terity, if ye shall allow Ferdinand to es-
"tablish himself on the throne of Bohemia.
"If ye embrace not this fortunate moment
"to break the yoke, in vain shall ye here-
"after struggle for release. Now, now
"only is the kingdom left in your hands—
"life and death, freedom and slavery, are
"set before you — choose as ye list; but

" doubt not, if you be brave, you shall be
" successful in the contest; if you ask, where
" your friends are to found, know they are
" numerous as your associates in faith and
" conscience. All Europe shall listen to
" our plea. Strong emotions are as rivers
" that take their source from little mountain
" springs, which in their progress are en-
" riched by tributary streams of sympathy,
" flowing at last into the great ocean of po-
" pular, of universal feeling." *

It was notoriously the influence of Thurm that determined the States to offer the crown to Frederic, and, consequently, on that nobleman has fallen the censure of having been actuated rather by personal than patriotic motives in his choice of a sovereign. In reality, however, his preference of that prince was amply justified by the prosperity he had witnessed in his hereditary dominions, his alliances, his public and private virtues. Whether he possessed energy and ability to conduct an enterprize so arduous, was a

* Nani.

question for experience only to resolve. Had personal qualities been permitted to direct their choice, the States should have preferred to any other potentate the intrepid, indefatigable Bethlem Gabor, who, without one noble kinsman or ally, had forced his way to the sovereignty of Transylvania, and, at the moment of Frederic's election, was actually preparing to wrest from Ferdinand the crown of Hungary.

During the last six years this ambitious leader had often inspired terror in Vienna. Courageous as prudent, his military habits were rather those of a border chieftain than of a civilized sovereign. Surrounded by martial barbarians, he had but to sound the tambour and an army was speedily collected, not less rapid in their movements than the ancient Huns, and almost as active in spreading devastation through the empire. Combining rudeness with magnificence, he affected pomp and state. His days were spent in a singular alternation of warfare and negotiation, polemical controversy, and poli-

tical chicanery; and he was not more prompt to propose a truce than to conduct an invasion. After having received from his discreet and thrifty wife the produce of his fine vineyards, he presided at the royal feast, despatched a splendid embassy to the Porte, or, vaulting into his saddle, departed on a predatory excursion, from which he rarely returned without ample spoils.

Such was the martial chief, the formidable neighbour, and suspicious ally of Frederic, who, far from imitating his celerity, consumed something more than a fortnight in leisurely progressing from Heidelberg to the river Eger. Arrived on the frontier of Bohemia, with the advice of his council he issued his celebrated manifesto, by which he promised unbounded toleration to religious opinions, pledged himself to observe neutrality with the respective sects, and invariably to regulate his conduct by upright and liberal principles.* On this spot Frederic was met

* "Now in these latter times, and among so many "different opinions in matters of faith and religion, it

by three hundred horsemen, including a deputation of nobles from Prague, who came to salute their new sovereign. On approaching the town of Waldsach, they were welcomed by the knights, nobles, and burghers, with demonstrations of gratitude and affection; but the acclamations of the populace were communicated in a language unknown

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" has been effectually found, that according to the " contents of the Holy Scriptures, and agreeably to " the most anciently established principles of doctrine, " men will not be led, driven, or forced with respect " to conscience; and that whenever such force or co- " ercion has been attempted, though in the most pri- " vate manner, it has always produced pernicious con- " sequences, and occasioned great revolutions in the " most considerable kingdoms and provinces." In conclusion he added, " We solemnly protest, in the " presence of God and the whole world, during our " whole reign not to molest, trouble, or hinder any in " the exercise of their formerly received religion, nor " suffer them to be hindered or oppressed in the same, " not excepting even those of the Romish church, " provided they submit to the laws and statutes of the " realm, and especially if they behave themselves " peaceably and without offence."—Could more liberal principles have been assumed, even in the 19th century?

to their guests, and it was only by her smiles that Elizabeth could reply to them. When they reached the town hall, they found the sexes must be divided, and the Elector and Electress were conducted to different apartments. Frederic having taken his place in the council room, Count Andreas Schlick, a nobleman of no ordinary attainments, addressed him in a Latin speech, to which, although somewhat tedious, the well-bred Prince having listened with apparent satisfaction, replied in a few words, expressive of his readiness to devote himself to the welfare of the people, which drew tears of rapture from his more impassioned auditors.* After this interview, the deputies proceeded in state to Elizabeth, to whom Baron Rupa, addressing her in the French language, offered thanks for her friendly mediation in their favour. In reply, the Queen expressed her conviction, that the part she had taken was a vocation of divine providence. These preliminaries adjusted, the

* Theatre of Europe.

whole party proceeded to the Great Church, where Abraham Scultetus, with rare discretion, preached a sermon inculcating the popular theme of christian unity, and brotherly love among all reformers, of whatsoever denomination. The sermon proved, as usual, but the prelude to a sumptuous feast, which was enlivened by martial music. In the meanwhile, Elizabeth and her ladies had fared even more luxuriantly in a separate apartment; and she already perceived an animation and vivacity in the Bohemians *, which belonged to

* In Merian's Topography, we have the following quaint description of Bohemia. The rays of the morning sun penetrate to Bohemia from Moravia and Silesia; and are from thence transmitted to Bavaria, Voigtland and the Palatinate. To the South lies Austria, on the North, Upper Lusatia. Half the kingdom is encircled by Austria, its form is nearly square, extending a three days' journey on either side. The Stadt district of Eger, is the boundary of Bohemia towards the Palatinate.

The original name of Prague is unknown; it was the residence of their ducal princes, and having been erected at different eras, displays different orders of architecture. Three towns are here combined and

the national character. Lively in their impressions, the women and children crowded before the windows, to behold the great Princess who had come to be their Queen; and no sooner had Elizabeth appeared, than they would have kissed the hem of her robe, or prostrated themselves before her as a divinity. From Waldsach, the royal party proceeded for the night to the Falkenau, the beautiful castle of Count Albinus Schlick, where they were treated with even more elegance than they had anticipated. The next morning they resumed their route, and at night were again magnificently entertained in a Gothic castle belonging to Baron Steinbach. What-

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incorporated in one. Of the most ancient part the architecture is purely Bohemian — another is German, and a third exhibits a mixed character.

It stands in the centre of the kingdom, on the banks of the Moldau, in a broad pleasant valley at the foot of the White Mountain in Weiss Berg, on the summit of which is a hunting seat ended in a royal park, several miles in circumference.

ever Elizabeth had seen of vast or grand, was effaced by the extravagant dimensions of those gothic edifices, and the forest-like parks, with which they were surrounded. The domestics of each household composed a garrison, and there was a little army of retainers attached to the domain, born but to perform their master's will, and to defend his person. Here, as in the Palatinate, the stables vied in magnificence with the state chambers. Never was the war-horse more honoured than in Bohemia. On reaching the town of Sanken, they were again impeded by a Latin oration, during which old and young crowded to the gates. The grave counsellor, the gallant cavalier, mingled with humbler citizens, and damsels and matrons strewed with flowers the ground Elizabeth had to pass, and reverently bent or knelt before her. To these attentions the princess could only reply by smiles, and, with reason, lamented her ignorance of their language. The old Bohemian dialect was still the vernacular tongue. It had been

the language of Zisca, and for his sake endeared and hallowed in the hearts of the people, at once too proud or too unsophisticated to relish a foreign medium of communication *.

At length, on the 21st of October, the new king and queen approached the capital of Bohemia, at that time almost one of the largest cities in Europe. For its picturesque situation and stately palaces, it was then compared with Florence †, which it is said to have surpassed in extent and magnificence, but fell short of its temperate climate and brilliant skies. In reality, Prague wore the aspect of an oriental metropolis, and, like Ispahan, included within its walls an immense space, romantically diversified with hills and vallies, crowded streets and spacious gardens; castle-like palaces, colleges, and bazaars; huts for the poorer citizens, palaces for the horses of the great: villas were contiguous to cemeteries, and on the

* Theatre of Europe, first vol. first part, Kevenhuller.

† Edward Brown's Travels, 1620.

site of the common burial-ground were planted gardens, gay and luxuriant to the eye. To account for this diversity of scene, it is only necessary to recollect that Prague was in reality composed of three towns *, which were designated as the

* "Prague," says Merian. "is divided into three "towns, the old, the new, and the lesser or minor "borough; each governed by its own laws and en- "joying its peculiar privileges. The minor town "connects the new with the old, and is surrounded "by water; the old town stands on the right of the "Moldau, which is here strong and broad, and three "miles farther falls into the Elbe. Diverging into the "expanse of valley, we descry Edissa, a palace built "in the old style; also a stately church dedicated to "our Lady. There is a college for the Jesuits, near "the bridge; also the free school, a college endowed "by the Emperor Charles the Fourth. The senate "or council house is also distinguished by its lofty "spire, of which the arch is accounted a master-piece "of architecture. It was remarkable, in this old town, "that in the fish-market no flesh is ever exposed in "the carcase. Along the water side the Jews have "their residence. The old council-house is called "Rhyta, — the custom house, the hospital with the "stone bridge; also two palaces occasionally occu- "pied by queens, in one of which money was every "day coined for their especial uses; the other is called

old, the *new*, and the *lesser* borough, each governed by its own laws, and enjoying appropriate privileges. The minor town intervenes between the old and new. The ancient Prague stood on the right of the Moldau, over whose broad expanse of water was erected a stone bridge composed of sixteen magnificent arches, at either extremity fortified by a tower of which the gates were constantly left open. — Within the circumference of Prague was exhibited the architecture of different ages and nations; and amidst its superabundant

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" the king's court. The bridge was the common road " from the old to the new town. It was erected by " Judith, queen consort of King Winceslaus, it is both " long and broad, at either extremity fortified by a " stately stone arch, under which the passenger pro- " ceeds to the old town; the bridge has sixteen arches. " The old town is divided from the new by walls, and " the tombs or cemetery which has, however, in part " been broken up, and converted into a garden. " Fields, orchards and gardens are interposed between " the squares or places; the palaces of the nobles " being like villas. By the king's court stands a plea- " sant tower called Strahoff dividing the towns." — (Merian's Topography.)

population, might be discovered a sort of casual reminiscence of several nations of antiquity. The Pyrrhic dance, in which the young men brandished naked swords, was often exhibited by those to whom classic Greece was wholly unknown. Pagan shrines had been converted into churches, but the temple of St. Weit or Faith, was a model of old Gothic architecture. Even on the bridge which had been the work of modern times, and which formed the boast of the present nation, the principal ornament was a Pagan image which had been transferred from an ancient temple, and by a pious sophistication was converted into a superb representation of the crucifixion. *

The old town presented innumerable attractions to the curious observer, there stood the turrets to which lingered so many romantic traditions of Lilybussa and her enchantments; the first Christian altar had been raised within its limits; and in this

* See Edward Brown's Travels, printed in 1660

division was the palace occupied by the Queens of Bohemia, in those golden days when money was expressly coined for their use each succeeding day. Although a striking diversity of manners and dress was perceptible in this redundant population; the prevailing characteristics were gaiety and enthusiasm. Men, women, and children were of a lively temperament, prone to sudden impressions, easily transported with rage or with rapture, and never was this susceptibility more powerfully excited, than by the approach of their newly elected sovereign. On this occasion the humblest citizen vied with the princely Burgrave*, in offering demonstrations of gladness. The palaces, the colleges, the cloisters, the bazaars, the gable-roofed cottages, and the almost uncovered hovels, all poured forth their motley garbed inhabitants. Even the insulated dwellings of the Jews along the water side were deserted; and they stood

* The Burgrave was the title given to the old national nobility.

aloof to behold the procession in which they were not permitted to take a part. Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, all rushed forth as by spontaneous impulse, towards that beautiful pleasure walk or park, called the Etoile or star, at the foot of Weissenburg. Towards this spot, confessedly the most agreeable scene in the environs of Prague, were marshalled the directors of the government, and deputies of the States, gallantly mounted on horseback, followed by fifty empty coaches, which fell into the rear of the procession about to enter the city in triumph.

It was here that Frederic and Elizabeth alighted to take the first glance of their new kingdom, the latter tastefully attired as became a queen; the former splendidly decorated with the orders of Knighthood, not omitting the Garter, looked rather the courtier than the hero. The day was beautifully serene, the temperature, like the face of the country, genial; the bright rays of the declining sun, which gilded the mingling

banners of Bavaria and Bohemia, cast on every object a glow of gladness, and, if unclouded skies warranted a happy presage, the heavens smiled auspiciously on the adventurous enterprize. After partaking of refreshments, which, whether prince or peasant, by Bohemian hospitality were never omitted, the line was marshalled, Elizabeth ascended a state coach, and Frederic mounted his stately steed, when lo, from the antiquated gate called Strahoff, which, according to an old custom, the sovereign must not enter without license from the citizens, issued four hundred burghers habited in the uncouth, but warlike style of Zisca, with steel skull caps, steel armour, iron lances, and broad bucklers; above all, to designate them as the representatives of the first champions of religious liberty, they carried on their ensigns the pewter cups and platters, which, in those primitive times, formed all the luxury of the citizens of Prague. The approach of this company was distinctly notified by their drums and tabors, whose incessant

din overpowered all other sounds. Advancing to the courtly Frederic, their leader or spokesman in a sonorous voice thus addressed him in the Bohemian dialect, "We "come, Frederic in the spirit of our fa- "thers, and with no less zeal and courage, "are ready to fight for our faith and free- "dom. With these swords we pledge our- "selves to stand or fall by you; on this "stout buckler we swear to devote our- "selves, and our goods, body and soul "in weal or woe till we die." * The orator having ended his speech, his comrades all rattled the cups and platters on their ensigns with a deafening tintanamara, which overpowered Frederic's gravity, and in defiance of German decorum, he laughed aloud; but he should have rather blushed in contrasting with his own gaudy habiliments the rude armour and martial habits which were alone fitted for the perilous position in which he was actually placed.

A little beyond the Strahoff at the en-

* Kevenhuller, Theatre of Europe.

trance of the royal hall the king was greeted by the burgesses of the three boroughs of Prague. In token of this recognition a single trumpet was sounded four times to which the representatives of the old town replied by another trumpet, which sounded six times accompanied by a hautboy. In like manner were heralded the deputies of the new and the lesser Prague. With the exception of these civic ceremonies, the procession displayed no national peculiarities; in a long train of three hundred coaches, however superb, there was nothing picturesque or impressive. But the equestrian cavaliers recalled images of ancient times. Preceded by pages and trumpeters, each mounted on a warlike steed, magnificently caparisoned, they had a spirited and martial appearance.* Among the princes who rode in the line, were the Dukes of Mecklenburg and Wirtemburg, the Prince Anhalt, and Frederic's affectionate brother Count Louis Palatine; but the most interesting object of the spectacle was Eliza-

* Theatre of Europe.

beth in the flower of youth, her complexion glowing with animation, and her eyes beaming with an enthusiasm, which proclaimed her sympathies for the people. Never, since the days of their royal Saint Elizabeth*, alike endeared to Catholics and Lutherans, had any princess inspired sentiments of such impassioned affection in the populace of Prague. The horses of her carriage were adorned with housings of gold and silver, and she sat under a canopy of gold and violet, not more splendid than becoming to her fair complexion. Beside her rode Frederic, with his head uncovered; beyond him were interposed the royal guards, which were, with bad taste, obtruded on view. The king and queen should rather have been seen alone, bespeaking, by voluntary confidence, the grateful attachment of the people. In another coach sat the little Prince Henry Frederic, a quick and delighted observer of the spectacle. His brother, Charles Louis, followed in a third carriage, and

* See Note in second volume.

amongst the beautiful ladies who lent grace to this pageantry, were particularly distinguished, the daughters of Sir William Apsley and of Count Albert Thurm, the fair and fortunate Amelia. In the rear came the martial representatives of the old Bohemians, incessantly rattling their cups and platters. After them, and which was justly hailed with sincere delight by spectators of every class, was borne Frederic's Manifesto, insuring to all men the blessings of freedom and toleration. After this bulwark of the constitution, followed the twenty four directors, who had consummated their labours, and willingly transferred the authority they had enjoyed. This day crowned the wishes of Count Thurm, and had he then closed his eyes for ever, it would have been with such impressions of joy and gratitude, as might have recompensed a life of hardships.

" Never, since the memory of man," says an eye witness, " had such magnifi-
" cence been exhibited in Prague, and never

" had such enthusiasm been excited in all " orders of the community. In the mani- " festo of Frederic, guaranteeing to all men, " of whatever sect or persuasion, peace, " and security, and concord, they seemed " to receive a pledge of health and pro- " sperity, a bond of brotherhood and free- " dom, whilst in the presence of their royal " champion and his consort they discovered " a recognition of their national rights, alike " flattering to their pride and patriotism. " Never before had a foreign prince re- " ceived a solemn invitation to ascend the " throne of Bohemia, and ages had elapsed " since the people had assented and justi- " fied their original prerogative of creating " kings. Enchanted with this evidence of " their emancipation, they protested that, be- " ing free, they would defend their freedom, " and the sceptre they had redeemed from " their oppressors."

Even the Catholics were secretly gratified by this exercise of their sovereignty; nor did it perhaps displease them that

the election had rather fallen on a prince of the least prevailing sect, namely the Hussite or Calvinist, than on any Lutheran whom they regarded as the original transgressor. To the latter, Frederic appears to have been originally less acceptable, than to the other parties, but at this moment even the spirit of theological controversy was in a manner charmed to silence, and retrospections and anticipations were absorbed in positive enjoyment. It was the national jubilee, all were eager to participate in its gladness, and for the first time since the reformation had dawned in Germany, the distinctions of Papist, Utraquist, and Calvinist, were all lost in the endearing names of compatriot, citizen, and Christian. The old and the young were alike eager to manifest loyalty and attachment. In their progress to the palace, Frederic and Elizabeth beheld the windows, the balconies, the turrets, even the steeples, crowded with spectators. The aged thanked God that they had lived to witness the

regeneration of their country; the stripling swore to conquer or die for his sovereign; the young girls wore garlands, or strewed flowers; matrons wept with delight; lisping children echoed the benedictions from their mother's lips; and, finally, the populace manifested their triumphant zeal by affixing to the walls of the tower a placard denouncing the penalties awarded to treason and rebellion on any one who should deny that Frederic and Elizabeth were lawfully King and Queen of Bohemia.*

The next day Abraham Scultetus preached in the High Church a sermon well calculated to harmonize with the tone of popular feelings, in which he expatiated warmly on the blessings of Christian charity and concord, intimating his belief that Lutherans and Calvinists would in future dwell together in brotherly union, and that even Catholics were not necessarily excluded from this holy fellowship. At length kindling with his theme, he broke into an impassioned

* Tracts on German History, 1620. Kenerdaler.

exclamation. "And is not this God's "work? that I am here in this church of "Prague,—that Frederic is now your elect- "ed King, it is the decree of providence, "and shall not God bring higher and great- "er things to pass?"

"Is it not a miracle that in the very "country, where, during fifteen years, dis- "couragement was thrown on whatever "savoured of evangelical purity, is it not "the miracle of miracles, that even here in "Bohemia we have an evangelic king? "Even this is a miracle also, that I, poor "persecuted outcast, stand in this pulpit, "and preach of the omnipotence of the "true church of God to freemen; there- "fore, say I, once more, the Lord is our "God, and he ruleth over all the earth." *

In conclusion, he insinuated the probability that Frederic should ultimately ascend the throne of Cæsar. How far such intimation was relished by the Bohemians might be doubtful; for the present they thought only of evincing gratitude to their protector;

* See Schmidt, 9th vol.

and no sooner had the directors obtained from the new sovereign a confirmation of their privileges, than a Landtag was announced, at which the States voted to Frederic in perpetuity the half of all imposts, contributions, and duties, for the maintenance of his royal dignity; and decreed that one-fourth of the public revenue should be granted for the same purpose to Elizabeth.

The next step was to prepare for the coronation, a ceremonial attended with more difficulty than had been expected. * It was easy to substitute on public ensigns and the royal plate the lion of Bavaria for the eagle of Austria; but it was not easy, however liberal might be the professions of Abraham Scultetus, to conciliate the prejudices of hostile sects, and to blend together opinions long impracticable and dissonant. In the great church of St. Weit, or Faith, the chaplain of Frederic had beheld with dismay many magnificent relics of Romish idolatry, which he could not pass over in silence; and pas-

* Schmidt.

sionately as he desired to invest his sovereign with a kingly crown, he indignantly refused to be the minister of those abhorred rites, which time and custom had hallowed, but which savoured of Papistical, and even of Pagan abomination. Unfortunately, the Bohemians were bigoted in their devotion to ancient customs, and Count Thurm earnestly forewarned Frederic that to depart from them materially, might endanger his possession of the kingdom. In this perplexity even the fanaticism of Scultetus yielded to worldly policy; the champion of evangelical purity renounced the honour of placing on his master's head the diadem, to preserve unimpaired the authority he had long exercised over his submissive understanding. The Administrator of the Hussites, who had hitherto been identified with the Calvinistic party, readily accepted the office; not, however, without experiencing many vexatious interruptions from Frederic's Protestant confessor, who often interposed an imperative veto.

In the meanwhile the standard of Bavaria was hoisted on the third of November, the day chosen for the august ceremony. In the morning the inhabitants of Prague were early in motion; and whilst the citizens, in martial array, paraded the streets, the chancellor and barons proceeded to the palace, where the former addressed the King in a Latin speech, in which he descanted copiously on the duties of a sovereign. The barons then demanded whether he was willing, on certain conditions, to become their king? To which Frederic replied in the affirmative, and that he was resolved to maintain their laws and liberties. They then conducted him to the great church, where, attired in royal robes, he was conducted to the chapel of St. Winceslaus, and from thence, attended by the Administrator of the Hussites*, to the altar,

* The Administrator, or Vicar, of the Archbishop of Prague, was George Manzorinus, and the senior, or elder of the consistory, John Cyril, who officiated in place of the Catholic bishop. Having entered the chapel, the King was invested with royal robes: on

on which the regalia were laid. Then there was a solemn pause in the ceremony, whilst the chief burgrave thus addressed Frederic: "High and mighty prince, we have chosen "thee to be our king; yet, ere we set the "crown on thine head, wilt thou swear a "sacred oath, in our Bohemian mother-"tongue, to maintain inviolate the laws of "this realm?" Frederic obeyed; and after a series of prayer, alternated with sacred music, the Administrator at length placed the crown on his head, accompanying the

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leaving it, the Administrator pronounced a benediction, and the King proceeded to the altar, where, having received the sacrament, he was met by the principal officers of state bearing the regalia. The Lord Chancellor carried the sceptre, the Chief Justice the globe, the Lord Treasurer the purse, the Lord Marshal the sword. After these came the King between the Administrator and the Chief Elder. At the altar, the King kneeling down, a prayer was offered, and an anthem sung; during which the regalia were laid on the altar; and, after the Litany had been sung, a sermon was preached from a text in the Epistle of Timothy. The King was then conducted to the altar. Tracts on German history, printed in 1620. Theat. Europe. Mercure Francois. Kevenhuller, 9th vol.

action with an appropriate prayer, almost the transcript of that employed in the inauguration of Catholic princes. In conclusion, the Administrator prayed that the King might be the father of his people; like Joshua, a victorious hero; and like Moses, all truth and uprightness; that, like David, he might be devoted to the glory of God; like Solomon, teach wisdom; like Hezekiah, manifest piety, or even as Josiah, the godly King of Judah.

The King being at length crowned, and invested with the royal appendages, was conducted by the Administrator to his throne, where burgraves, knights, and barons, addressing him in the Bohemian tongue, took the oaths of allegiance, solemnly promising to be faithful to him and his posterity. The crown was then raised, whilst the Administrator, in defiance of Abraham Scultetus, poured oil upon the king's head, and then replaced the crown, not without the apostolic rites of prayer and consecration. Then each baron approached, and touching

with two fingers the crown, in token of allegiance, held up the other two, to signify that he stood pledged to defend it from usurpation. The first burgrave then laid his hand on the crown, in token that he solemnly disclaimed any other for his sovereign. His example was followed by a hundred nobles of equal rank. The remaining lords merely extended the two fingers. During every pause of silence a symphony of sacred music floated on the air. At length *Te Deum* was chaunted, with corresponding expressions of gratitude and devotion. The service concluded with the prayer, or invocation, from the Romish or Greek church; and no sooner was its consummation announced by a discharge of artillery, than every belfrey in Prague sent forth a jubilant peal. In every street the heralds proclaimed King Frederic, and trumpets and hautboys were overpowered by the shouts and acclamations of the soldiers, the citizens, the people. The King marched from the church in state, wearing the crown so dearly pur-

chased, and which, in consideration of the sacrifices he made, was secured to his eldest son. He dined in public with his nobles, and in the evening presided at a banquet, remarkable for nothing but the frequency and perseverance of the potations. During the space of many hours, a fountain spouted forth white wine to regale the populace.

Of this ceremony Elizabeth had been simply a spectatress; but on the 6th of November her own coronation was celebrated with equal magnificence. On this occasion there appears not to have been any material deviation from established usage; whether that Scultetus considered his interference unnecessary, or that Elizabeth herself having been nurtured in English Episcopacy, was less scrupulous than her consort, and more guarded in her attempts to conciliate the Lutheran part of the community. On entering the chapel of Wenceslaus, she was accompanied by Frederic, who took his place by her side. When she ap-

proached the altar, she was saluted by the Administrator with the customary benediction; and when she knelt at the sacred shrine, he prayed over her. The King was next conducted to the altar, where, standing in front of the Administrator, he said, in Latin, "Reverend Father, I be-"seech thee to bestow, with thy benedic-"tion, the crown on my beloved and de-"serving consort, whom God hath given to "be my helpmate, for the praise and glory "of our Saviour, Christ." After this intercession there was a symphony of music; during which the Queen was conducted to the throne, where she sat alone, whilst the Litany was chaunted, omitting only certain invocations that savoured too strongly of Romish doctrine. These devotions being ended, the assistant priest addressed to the new Queen a tedious homily, to which the Administrator superadded a still longer discourse, plentifully seasoned with scriptural quotations, and concluding with devout aspirations, that the piety

of the new queen might be rewarded with the longevity of Sarah, the spouse of Abraham; that in all her undertakings she might be prosperous, as the beautiful Rebecca; that she should prevail over her enemies, like the intrepid Judith; and be meek and magnanimous as Queen Esther; finally, that she might be persevering as the Queen of Sheba in the search of truth and wisdom, and, above all, be crowned with spiritual gifts, like the blessed Salome, who had been chosen and approved by the Saviour of the world. To this peroration succeeded another symphony of music, of a higher strain, during which the Queen was removed to the altar: from thence the Administrator took the crown, which he presented to the senior burgrave, whilst he anointed with holy oil the fair temples of Elizabeth. He then put into one hand the sceptre, and committed to the other the ball, and finally consummated the work by setting on her head the crown of St. Isabella. This last act was accompanied by a prayer for her

future felicity, to which, with a sort of electrical impulse, thousands of voices responded amen; till, at the same moment, the walls re-echoed "Vivat, vivat Elizabeth!" The Queen was then made to resume her station on the throne, and *Te Deum*, chaunted with a choral and ineffable sublimity, concluded the ceremony. The Queen dined not in public, but held a court, and in the evening presided at a stately banquet. Again the bells rung merrily, bread and wine were freely distributed to the populace, and the young and gay of both sexes danced in the streets for joy. On this day of jubilee persons of either sex or condition were admitted freely to the royal presence; a privilege of which the Jews, who had hitherto been excluded from the honour, gladly availed themselves to offer their homage.

Elizabeth was now a queen, and, under other circumstances, might have been amused to recal the bitter pleasantry with which her mother had formerly greeted her as Goody Palsgrave; but alas! that prin-

cess no longer lived to share in her pride or exalt her triumph. To her last moments she had shewn symptoms of displeasure to her daughter, to whom she bequeathed no part of her property, nor even one of those superb jewels, which, properly applied, might have been so useful in preserving to Frederic and Elizabeth their new kingdom. With her father, Elizabeth had uniformly kept up an affectionate correspondence; but either jealousy or pusillanimity now alienated him from her interests; and, whilst the ambassadors of France, of Sweden, of Poland, the States of Holland and Venice, presented congratulations, James, the King of Great Britain, transmitted only expressions of disapprobation, regretting the Palsgrave's rashness, and still more resenting that he had accepted the crown the very day after he had written for his advice respecting it. Irritated by the Puritans, who manifested on this occasion extravagant joy, James even refused his son-in-law the title of king,

protesting he would never aid and abet rebellion. Frederic was not unprepared for these animadversions, for which he was in some degree consoled by the ardent congratulations of his two uncles, the Prince of Orange and the Duke de Bouillon. The latter, elate with the result of his new political speculations, and confiding in the consummation of his ultimate views for Frederic, exclaimed with triumph, "I care not who "makes *Knights*, since *I create Kings.*"*

* See Cardinal Bentivoglio's Letters.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Chap. II.

Combe Abbey was, by Edward VI., first granted to John Earl of Warwick (afterwards Duke of Northumberland), and his heirs, June 22d, in the 1st year of his reign; and after his attainder, in the 3d and 4th year of Philip and Mary, Robert Keylsway had a lease of the site; which Robert Keylsway, in the 23d of Elizabeth, died, seised in fee of certain lands, belonging to this monastery, leaving an only daughter, Anne, his sole heir; married to Sir John Harrington, which Sir John Harrington, in the 1st of James I., was created Lord Harrington of Exton, county of Rutland. And, having the tuition of the Lady Elizabeth, until her marriage with the Elector Palatine, attended her into Germany, where, on his return, he deceased at Worms, anno 1614, leaving issue by Anne his wife (daughter and sole heir to R. Keylsaway, Esq. surveyor of the Courts of Wards and Liveries), one son, John, surviving (Kelsway, his *eldest* son, died in his lifetime), and *one daughter*, named Lucie. Which John, his successor, died without issue, very shortly after, in the same year; whereby his sister Lucie became heir to a very great estate, and wife to Edward Earl of Bedford; but her profuseness was such, that she wasted her own and not a little of

his estate, selling Combe Abbey, with the estate belonging to it, to Sir William Craven, Knight, who, in 1611, served the office of Lord Mayor of London.—*From Dugdale's Warwickshire, and Bank's Dormant and Extinct Peerage of England.*

Chap. III.

The chronicle, or journal, referred to in the third chapter, is extracted from an old scarce book published at Frankenthal in 1613, and mentioned in Leland's Collectanea. The author appears to have derived his information in part from some persons in the suite of the Elector Palatine, and in part from his own observation. It is evidently quite distinct from a pamphlet published in England in the same year, and on the same subject, which is quoted by Leland. The French account, printed at Heidelberg, is very superficial, and, in reality, borrowed from this original German work, of which very few copies are now extant. The description of Elizabeth's tour, of her reception in Germany, and of the splendid entertainments presented in her honour, occupy 205 pages, curiously illustrated with prints, in which are correct representations of the triumphal arches erected in compliment to the British princess. To this is annexed a copious appendix. In the details of the marriage ceremony, the German Chronicle agrees with the transcripts made from the official registers, which are preserved in Leland, and to which is added such information as he had been able to collect from Stowe, from

Sir John Finett, and a pamphlet published in London in 1613. It is remarked by Leland, that he had never met with the German work published in 1613 at Frankenthal or the French Journal printed at Heidelberg in the same year. But he states, on the authority of a pamphlet printed in England in 1613, "that Elizabeth "was clad in white satin, richly embroidered with silver. "Upon her head a crown of refined gold, made impe- "rial by the pearls and diamonds thereon placed, which "were so thickly set, that they stood like shining pin- "nacles over her amber-coloured hair, hanging down "over her shoulders to the waist. Between every plait, "a roll or list of gold spangles, pearls, rich stones, and "diamonds, of inestimable value, embroidered on her "sleeves. The king, who was in a magnificent suit of "black, wore a single diamond in his hat. The queen "was in white satin, ornamented with a profusion of dia- "monds. In the chapel, the king sat in the chair of "state, on the right, wearing jewels valued at six hun- "dred thousand pounds; opposite to him was the queen, "whose jewels were supposed to be worth four hundred "thousand pounds. The royal party were all placed on "the *haut pas* or throne. None but persons of the first "quality came into the chapel. First, the choristers sung "an anthem; then the Bishop of Bath and Wells preach- "ed a sermon, from the text referring to the marriage of "Cana in Galilee. After the sermon another anthem "was sung, taken from the psalm, 'Blessed art thou "'that fearest God.' While the choir were singing "this anthem, the archbishop and bishop robed; and, "having ascended the *haut pas* or throne, the young "couple were married according to the form in the

" prayer-book, the prince speaking in English. The " king's majesty gave the bride away. After the ce- " remony, the heralds having proclaimed largesse, " the king gave the joy — Ipocras: wine and wafers " were produced from the vestry. After tasting the " wafers, a health was begun to the prosperity of the " marriage by the Prince Palatine, which was an- " swered by the princess and others in their order."

Leland remarks, that the sixteen nobles who accompanied the Elector Palatine, were to designate the number of his years. The same number of ladies has by some writers been assigned to Elizabeth. Stowe and Sandford mention but twelve; the German book thirteen. In Echard's History of England, there is almost a poetical description of Elizabeth's appearance on the morning of her marriage, written many years after, in which it is pretended, that certain coruscations were observed in her countenance, which were afterwards supposed to foreshow her fate.

Chap. III. Page 168.

Transcript of the Letter addressed by Elizabeth to her Father on her arrival in Holland.

" Sire,

" Je ne saurois faire choix de personne qui sert " mieux rapporter à votre Majesté les faveurs extra- " ordinaires et courtois que j'ai reçues de M. l'amiral " que lui-meme, qui m'a tellement honoré pour l'amour " de votre Majesté, que je m'estimerai le plus heureux

" au monde, si pourrai m'entendre ci auprès que votre " Majesté en sache bon gré.

" Monsieur l'amiral déclarera à votre Majesté l'af- " fection de tous les peuples de ce pays, et l'honneur " que j'en reçois à la considération de votre Majesté ; " ni lui, ni moi, ne sômmes capables d'exprimer de " quelle dévotion je serai à tout jamais,

" Sire,

" Votre Majesté,

" Tres affectionnée, et servante très humble,

" ELIZABETH."

N. B. — The original of this letter was sold a few months since, in a collection of autographs, by Mr Sotheby.

CHAP. IV. Page 200.

Extract from the German quarto describing the Fetes at Heidelberg.

" THE jousts and sports of chivalry were presented " in the pleasure-gardens on the other side of the " castle, where, in front of the barriers, was erected " a pleasure-house, divided into two compartments ; " one of which was appropriated to the royal dames, " and in which were seats allotted to the mantenators " and judges of chivalry ; the other was allotted to the " high German nobility. On the opposite side were " balconies for the British suite and the dignitaries of " the Palatinate ; and nearly in the centre was a booth,

" sufficiently commodious to accommodate all other
" orders of the community, where men and women
" were permitted to sit together. The jousts com-
" menced at one o'clock, when thirty knights en-
" tered the lists, all arrayed in gaudy magnificence.
" The cavaliers wore gilt armour, having their helmets
" crowned with peacocks' plumes; even their horses
" were in like manner embellished. The Palatine
" company were designated by a livery of green and
" white; the Anspachers wore white and red; the
" cavaliers of Wirtemburg exhibited white and gold,
" with a profusion of suns and stars. Various courses
" were run with lance, with spear, and sword, in which
" the magnificent Duke of Wirtemberg was pre-emi-
" nently victorious. On the evening of this day there
" was a grand display of fire-works on the Neckar,
" the effect of which was heightened by trumpets and
" hautboys, which, without intermission, were heard
" to reverberate from the high cliffs to the smooth waters
" of the Neckar. On the following Thursday, accord-
" ing to cartels published on the gates of the castle, a
" general invitation was issued to running at the ring,
" which also commenced at noon in the royal gardens;
" in addition to which there was a grand romantic
" spectacle called the Argonauts, in which the Elector
" Palatine enacted the part of Jason, and each of the
" cavaliers appeared in the appropriate garb of Greek
" heroes. The idea was suggested by Baron Achatius
" d'Hona, to whose taste Frederic was indebted for the
" invention, for which he obtained the first prize from
" the ladies. This entertainment lasted several days,
" and was varied by a series of inventions or fables, for

" each of which the author or authors received thanks,
" and a prize of ducats, dollars, or florins, in sums
" proportioned to the ingenuity of the device, and the
" gallantry of the achievement. During this spectacle,
" a series of laudatory speeches and poems was ad-
" dressed to Elizabeth by the princes or nobles, sup-
" porting the characters of Pallas, Juno, Mercury,
" Orpheus, Jason and his companions. The metrical
" pieces were composed under the eye of the Baron
" d'Hona, and, probably, employed some of the most
" practised pens in Heidelberg. The following song,
" addressed by Jason to the royal bride, affords a
" specimen of the popular style of versification then
" prevalent in Germany: —

" Ich bin der erst gewest dem das glück wider fahren
Das er hab, ober meer in eim schiff dörffen fahren.
Itzt bin Ich auch der erst, der durch mein manlich hand
Verdient hab, das Ich fahr in eim schiff ober land —
Ein grossen schatz hab Ich das erste mahl gewonnen
Des gleichen gsehen hat Kein mensch unter der sonnen
Itzund auf dieser Reiss, und gliech auf diesem platz,
Hab Ich, davon gebracht noch viel ein grossern schatz.
O schone princessin — alle die dich ansehen
Müssen mit mir zugleich bekennen und verjehen
Das der must sein der schatz der mich gefangen helt
Und tze dem Ich schatz gering die gantze welt.

" From the golden mast of Jason's ship was uttered
" by an invisible speaker, the following oracle. —

" 'When the young lion, sprung from the royal race
" 'of lions, shall steal from her native valley the royal
" 'lamb, and bear her in safety o'er the sea to his own
" 'sylvan lair, with transports of joy that shall shake
" 'the astonished earth, then shall be emblazoned the
" 'valour and praise of the new Jason, whose glory
" 'bids fair to eclipse all the heroes of the earth.'

" After this followed a prophetic song, which, in " the original, is not without spirit and harmony, and " which boldly announced the conflicts and victories " of the heroic Jason. To these succeeded the eulo- " gies of Hercules, of Mars, of Penelope, and the " Nine Muses. The knights who had personated Ar- " minius, and the native heroes of Germany, were next " introduced, to compliment or congratulate the royal " pair. The principal Rivers of Germany followed. " Finally, the Goddess Fame was made to present the " homage of the Sultans Bajazet, Selim, Achmet, " Amurath, Mustapha, and Ochialis. Among these " various essays in prose and verse, a solitary attempt " at humour was made in the character of Don " Quixotte, apparently with little success. At the " German courts, wit was confessedly a rare commo- " dity.

" In the list of prizes, we find that the Elector Fre- " deric, in a conflict with Marcus Coriolanus (Marquis " of Anspach), won 100 florins. In like manner the " Duke de Deuxponts won forty ducats, and Prince " Christian of Anhalt fifty rix-dollars."

The German Chronicle concludes with the thanks-giving sermon, delivered by Abraham Scultetus, in

the High Church of Heidelberg, on the 18th of June 1613, which is little more than a commentary upon the text taken from the 119th Psalm, " Praise the Lord." Of the gorgeous magnificence and expence lavished in this marriage, we have ample testimony, in the historical continuations of De Thou and Meteren. In a more modern German history, it is stated by Ludolph (in his Theatre of the World), that during the nuptial festivities, 5500 persons dined every day in the castle of Heidelberg, and every day consumed above twenty fuder of wine.*

Chap. V. Page 228.

An admirable account of the contentions between the Arminians and the Calvinists is to be found in the second volume of Brandt's History of the Reformation. The tenets of the Reformed churches in the United States had been originally Calvinistic, and in all essential points agreed with the Reformed churches in France, and the articles of faith promulgated by the Catechism of Heidelberg. Many of the ministers in Holland had been fugitives from France. The Arminians sprung up at Leyden, and were originally confined to the congregation of the benevolent Arminius, whose partizans increasing rapidly, excited such jealousy and hostility, that even in 1605, they found it necessary to solicit the protection of the Grand Pensionary Barnevelt. Although the Reformers had de-

* Every fuder of wine contained a thousand and twenty bottles.

monstrated the vain pretensions of the apostolical church to infallibility, they assumed pretensions equally arrogant and arbitrary, when they insisted on the necessity of maintaining unity of faith and worship. Neither were the established or orthodox ministers of the Reformed churches less dogmatic in their assumption of rights and privileges unparticipated by the laity, than the Catholic priesthood, from whose thraldom their predecessors had been emancipated. A curious instance of this theological tyranny occurred in the church of Buren, to whose countess, the pious Mary of Nassau, the Princess Æmilia, the sister of Maurice, had recommended for their pastor, Arnold Huttenus. Although Huttenus implicitly adhered to the Catechism of Heidelberg, certain deacons and elders refused to accept a woman's recommendation. The countess persisted in her choice; and, after the usual probation, Huttenus was elected: but the malcontents seceded from the church, and finally compelled the unoffending pastor to withdraw from Buren.

The contra-remonstrants more than trebled their opponents, whom, according to Grotius, they were sure to attack with the utmost violence in barber's shops, then the common rendezvous for gossip; and, not content with branding them as *heretics*, attributed to them treacherous communication with Spain and the Papists. Even in that age of controversy, there appeared an advocate for universal charity and toleration, in the eloquent Bucer, who wrote a book to prove that all should be considered as brethren, by whom God is reverenced as the common father, and that even Lutherans and Calvinists might communicate together

In defiance of reason and Bucer, the disputes continued with much bitterness; the ministers affecting the same supremacy which had been usurped by the Catholic clergy. "What should the magistrates know about "religion?" said one of these pastors. "Let us go "to Rostock, to the doctors and superintendents, who "can judge of a conference."—The clergy also interfered in political affairs; and the people were admonished from the pulpit, that they ought not to give a vote for the election of a magistrate without consulting their pastors. The Remonstrants became alarmed, when they discovered that Maurice of Nassau secretly favoured their opponents; neither did the protection of Barnevelt, and a few enlightened men, avail them. In vain did the States-General pass a decree for universal toleration. The people were not sufficiently ripe to receive it; the spirit of Catholicism prevailed in those zealous Protestants, and under another name, the same prejudice was predominant. It was in vain that Grotius contended for the rights of the laity against clerical usurpation. "There are "some," said he, "who dare maintain, that the know-"ledge of certain controversial questions is necessary "to salvation. But all things that are of such neces-"sity are to be received by women as well as by men, "by young as well as old, by the most ignorant as well "as the most learned. How many plain, good men are "there in the church of Christ, who do not even know "what the state of the question is; much less, which "party they ought to embrace? And must we to "such refuse salvation? God forbid." Even Grotius, however, so far sympathized in the feelings of his com-

patriots, as to conceive a schism in the church to be dangerous to the state; and he therefore deprecated all polemical discussions on such subjects as were within the pale of controversy. At this time a work appeared anonymously, in which was introduced an inquiry, "Whether God had created man to damn him, "and whether God calls any man to salvation whom "He has previously ordained to perdition." This work was burnt, and its publishers rigorously punished. In 1617, the contra-remonstrants became clamorous for separation. Triglandius having announced to the Prince of Orange, "that if the churches were not "filled to their liking, their ministers should preach "in barns." "No, no," said Maurice; "the churches "are our's, and our's they shall be." Encouraged by this intimation, the contra-remonstrants drove the Arminian ministers from the pulpit. In 1617, the Prince of Orange publicly joined the contra-remonstrants; his brother, Henry Frederic, and his mother, Louisa Coligny, continued with Utenbogard; whilst Barnevelt was induced by Grotius to interpose in behalf of the Remonstrants, although he secretly dissented from their doctrines. During these dissentions, the disorders of the people became every day more inveterate. The Princess Dowager remarked, that there was something more than religion in those commotions; and having forewarned Barnevelt of his danger, he claimed justice from the States, who promised him their protection. Carleton, the British ambassador, appears to have been apprized of the machinations against the grand pensionary, who, by his redemption of the cautionary towns, had given offence to the British govern-

ment, and who was also an avowed enemy to the aggrandizement of Maurice, the ally of Britain. The following communication from Carleton*, contains an account of the manner in which the Prince of Orange commenced his operations against Barnevelt, in conjunction with the contra-remonstrants: —

"Those which go under the title of contra-remonstrants here at the Hague, having been put off these eight months past, from one assembly to another, without satisfaction to their demands, (which were either to have their ministers restored to their function in the church, or else to have a private place of preaching allowed them, whereby to be freed from the incommodity of going to Ryswick,) and now seeing this next assembly so long deferred, lost all patience; and having secretly hired a house here in this town, and fitted it for their purpose, intended there to have a sermon on Sunday last was fortnight, the 29th of the last; but their purpose being discovered to their adverse party, they were hindered by the magistrates of the town, who sealed up the doors of the house by public authority; which, notwithstanding, could not change their purpose, they going from thence in troops and some disorder to a house of an officer of his excellency's, and there they had their sermon.

"The day following, six of their company, whom they had deputed for their affairs, were called before the provincial council; and being there handled with some rough terms by the president, and willed to

* See Carleton's Letter.

" desist until the next assembly of the States of Hol-
" land, refused absolutely, not fearing to return as high
" language both in their own defence, and disgrace of
" their adversaries. The council hereupon had re-
" course unto his excellency, and first desired of him
" part of his guard to keep these men in devotion until
" the next assembly; which he excusing, they required
" that he would send for soldiers from other towns,
" wherein they prevailed as little with him, he saying
" the one was for the guard of his person; the other
" for the defence of the frontiers against their enemies;
" and therefore should not be employed for offence of
" their friends. The magistrates of the town having
" been with him to the same effect, had the like answer.
" The Friday and Saturday following, which were the
" 2d and 3d of this present, all other affairs ceased, to
" attend this their high court of justice. Their provin-
" cial council and the chambre des comptes being all
" assembled together in the council-chamber of Hol-
" land, where the first day they debated the matter
" amongst themselves, and the next, in the morning,
" called his excellency Maurice to their meeting;
" where the business being laid open unto him in fa-
" vour of the remonstrants, and disgrace of the contra-
" remonstrants, they desired his advice. Whereupon
" he called for the register-book, wherein his oath was
" set down, which he took in the year 86; at which
" time he entered into the charge he now holds for the
" service of the State: which being read in all their
" presences, and therein this article noted in particu-
" lar, that both he and the States do mutually bind
" themselves, even to the last drop of blood, for the de-

" fence of the reformed religion, which was the first
" ground of their quarrel, and for which his father lost
" his life. ' This oath,' said he, ' will I keep whilst I
" ' live, and this religion will I defend.' This caused
" much argument amongst them, in that all possible
" endeavour was used to persuade his excellency, that
" the introduction of these new opinions was no change
" of religion, they being such as might stand with the
" antient profession ; and, in opinion, they had left him
" well edified, gave him full authority to call the de-
" puties of the contra-remonstrants before him that
" afternoon, in the chamber of the provincial council,
" where, sitting in the same chair, which was antiently
" the place of the counts of Holland, and where he
" first took his oath as governor-general, or lieutenant
" of these provinces, (and to this place he hath not
" been called before this time, since the year 86,) he
" required of them, by way of advice and intreaty, that,
" for the next day, which was the communion Sunday,
" they would, to avoid disorder, go to Ryswick, pro-
" mising them, upon his word, that the Sunday fol-
" lowing, they should have not only a house, but the
" chief church itself, for their sermons, with a preacher
" of their own choice, at such convenient hour, that
" the remonstrants likewise might have their turns;
" with which they resting satisfied, went the next day
" a great congregation more than ordinary to Rys-
" wick ; where the sermon being ended, they made
" presently an election of deacons and elders amongst
" themselves : which precipitation gave advantage to
" their enemies to accuse them of schism ; and being
" called before his excellency the next day, they

" maintained their act with a constant asseveration,
" that they would have no communication with the re-
" monstrants, either by hearing their preachers, or
" admitting any officer of the church, which should
" be of their number, saying for themselves, that whilst
" they were at Ryswick, the alms, which were collected
" in the church of the remonstrants, were not distri-
" buted to any of the poor of their society; so as
" in this they were but led by example. Much con-
" testation grew hereupon, betwixt the chief of the
" remonstrants (who are the chief in authority here)
" and his excellency, they saying, that he was now
" freed of his word, for giving the contra-remonstrants
" a church, since they manifestly tended to schism;
" and he persisting, that he was bound to make it
" good; they grew then factious to an inrolling of
" their numbers, and comparing of their qualities; and
" it appeared the greater part of the Hague, and the
" better sort of men, to be remonstrants, which made
" the matter the more considerable, in laying so great
" an aspersion upon so many of so good quality, as
" unfit men to be thought members of the true church.
" Whereupon, a resolution was taken to send express
" messengers to all the towns of Holland, and to call
" the assembly of the States presently, which was ap-
" pointed in March next; and provisionally order was
" taken, by consent of his excellency, whose authority
" prevailed with the contra-remonstrants, that they
" should have liberty to preach this last Sunday in
" our English Church, with the deacons of the other
" part, for collection of alms; which was accordingly
" performed, without interruption to our service, in

" that they begun early in the morning, and had done " by ten of the clock."

By the same correspondent, the arrest of Barnevelt is announced to the British minister as a signal triumph to his court:—

" I will now take the boldness withal to make you " partaker of the common joy in these parts. You have " heard, and I am sure are very well acquainted, with " the practices that have been here for many years " followed by our great advocate, Barnevelt, and his " associates of the League; as also, what credit and " authority he hath had here and abroad. All this " greatness is suddenly fallen, and with it the bitterest " enemy and the most dangerous to our state, besides " a contemner of his Majesty's person and actions."

The arbitrary actions of Maurice, in removing the Arminian magistrates, and placing garrisons devoted to his party, is detailed by Carleton with unqualified approbation; yet he does not deny but that the proceedings of the Synod manifested more intemperance than wisdom. It was on the 13th of November, 1618, that this assembly opened at Dort, consisting of French, English, Palatine, and Batavian divines. The prayers and discourses were in Latin. Abraham Scultetus was one of the most indefatigable and intolerant disputant speakers. Of the knowledge and liberality that prevailed in this learned convention, some idea may be formed from the following anecdote: It was debated, whether the children of heathen parents in the service of Christian masters might be admitted to the benefit of Christian baptism. To this the English divines replied in the affirmative, provided that they had been *lawfully purchased*; otherwise, not without making a

public confession of faith, of which infants were incapable. By the other theologians the proposition was wholly negatived.

By the decree of this Synod the remonstrants were condemned, their books prohibited at the fair of Frankfort, and many of their ministers committed to the rasp-house of Amsterdam. During many years these ill-fated Non-Conformists being driven from Holland, as the Hugonots afterwards were from France, wandered in miserable exile, and, in 1629, planted a colony in Holstein, to which they introduced their national habits of order, industry, and sobriety.

Chap. V. Page 212.

In Howe's Chronicle, page 105., *is the following account of the christening of Henry Frederic, eldest son of Frederic and Elizabeth :* —

" On the 6th of March 1614, in the morning, there " was sounding of trumpets and drums, and sundry " other instruments of music, to announce the coming " of the princes to the sermon. After the great bell " had rung three times, the Prince of Anhalt, as his " Majesty of Britain's ambassador, came into the " church, having before him the high and sub mar- " shals, with earls, barons, gentlemen, the administra- " tor on the right hand, the Prince Palatine on the " left, with a very rich canopy carried over him, so as " the prince kept his chair advanced three foot higher " than the others, and was attended by Thomas Levis- " ton, Esq., cup-bearer to the Princess Palatine. Af-

" ter this, the electress-dowager, and the administra-
" trix, mother and sister to Frederic, came in, and
" conducted the Duchess-dowager de Deuxponts, with
" the same ceremony of marshals, and were placed
" under a canopy, against the Prince of Anhalt (then
" master of the horse.) The chaplain preached; his
" sermon being ended, the marshals and nobility con-
" ducted the young prince into the chapel; and, in
" the meantime, there was music in the church, as or-
" gans, cornets, voices, besides trumpets. At this
" time there was a new gallery built, over which was
" carried the young prince by the Princess Catherine,
" second sister to the Prince Palatine, conducted by
" the young Duke of Deuxponts, and the train of the
" child's mantle was borne up by the Countess of
" Hanau*, and over him a canopy, borne by four gen-
" tlemen. Having entered the chapel, the Prince of
" Anhalt, alone, presented the child at the font, who
" was named 'Frederic Henry.' The ceremony being
" ended, the young prince was presented to the elec-
" tress-dowager, as godmother; and whilst she held
" him, came the administrator on the right, and Prince
" Henry on the left, to stay and bear up the infant;
" and after he was delivered to the administatrix, was
" by her presented to the three deputies before men-
" tioned, who took him, and gave him to the Princess
" Catherine. Presently after the christening there was
" a peal of ordnance. The presents from the King of
" Great Britain were, a large bason and ewer of pure
" gold, weighing six hundred ounces. From Prince

* Sister of Juliana.

" Maurice of Nassau, a ship of chrystal, valued at " nine hundred pounds. From the States of Holland, " two cups of gold, valued at thirteen hundred pounds, " and a bar of gold of two hundred pounds, in which " there was a bond for an annual pension of four hun- " dred pounds sterling. From the nobility of the " Palatinate, a goblet of gold, valued at 2000 ducats, " with assurance of a thousand horse at need; to his " highness's sister a thousand pound of jewels; to " Mistress Anne Dudley, two hundred pounds in " jewels; to the rest of the gentlewomen of her high- " ness's chambers were jewels given also. The Duke " of Deuxponts gave a bason and ewer and a standing " cup, two hundred pounds value. The Electress Ju- " liana gave twenty-four bowls, valued at four hundred " pounds, and to every gentlewoman of Elizabeth's " chamber, a standing cup with ewer. The free gen- " tlemen of the county presented her highness with a " chain of eight hundred pounds value."

*List of the Company of the Elector and Electress Palatine, April 9, 1613.**

Elizabeth, Princess of Great Britain.
The young lady, Anne Dudley.
Two little girls, named Terret and Apsley.
Eliza Dudley, Mrs. Dean.
Maria Smith.
Three laundresses.
Sir Jacob Sandeland, comptroller of the household.

* From the German quarto.

Andrew Keith, master of the horse.
—— Elphenson, Esq. secretary.
Thomas Leviston, Esq. treasurer.
Ditto, Hinxman.
Jacob Liviston, cup-bearer.
—— Bringel, Esq. carver.
Dr. Chapman, court chaplain.
Dr. Christian Rumpf, family physician
Four pages of honour.
Mr. Gray, quarter-master.
John Spence, taylor.
William Short, Lazarus Terence, } assistants.

The total number of persons in the suite of the Princess amounted to seventy-five men and fifteen women. The suite of the Duke of Lenox consisted of forty-one persons; the Earl of Harrington's company was not less numerous; that of General Ceûl amounted but to half the number.

The comparative degree of state displayed by the German and English princes and nobles, may be estimated from the following list of persons and horses accompanying the Marquis of Brandenburg on his visit to Heidelberg, June 1613:—

The Marquis was accompanied, first, by the Prince of Anhalt, to whose suite were attached twelve men and twelve horses.

Next, by William Count Mansfeld, his lord high marshal, seven persons, ten horses.

Thirdly, by Henry William, Count of Solms, with ten men, fifteen horses.

Fourthly, Wolfgang, Count of Eisenburg, eighteen persons, twenty-one horses.

Fifthly, Ernest, Count Mansfeld, ten men, ten horses.

Sixthly, the Count of Grichingen, twenty-three men, twenty-three horses.

Seventhly, Erasbus, Count of Limburg, seven men, six horses.

Eighthly, The Lord of Flukenstein, ten men, eight horses.

Henry of Gunterrocht, fourteen men and horses.

William of Goldstein, eight men, seven horses.

George of Lichenstein, seven men, seven horses.

Two gentlemen, with five men and horses; divers gentlemen, with four men and horses each; nine gentlemen, with three each; exclusive of domestics and personal attendants; among whom we find a master of inventions, a clerk of the kitchen, a dentist, trumpeters, musicians; with a long procession of coaches, cars, and one-horse waggons, sufficiently numerous to have transported the wardrobe and machinery of a theatre.

Equally sumptuous was the retinue of the Duke of Wirtemberg: there were twenty trumpeters and flute-players, to beguile the tediousness of the journey; and there were also two barbers, one chaplain, and one physician.

The company of Prince Christian of Anhalt (afterwards but too well known as Frederic's generalissimo in Bohemia) was moderate, but in it was the most cultivated individual of the party, Baron Christopher d'Hona, whose life has been written by Frederic Spanheim, and who had lately returned from Italy with his

gallant and accomplished pupil, the younger Prince Christian.

The retinue of Magdalena, Princess Palatine, and Dowager Countess of Vildenty, consisted but of thirty-six persons and twenty-nine horses.

Anna, Dowager Margravine of Baden, was attended by four maids of honour, a silver trumpeter, two pages of honour; in the total, forty-five persons, and thirty-eight horses; besides three large coaches-and-six for the princess herself, two coaches-and-four for her ladies, and eight waggons for their baggage. Riding appears to have formed no part of the amusements of the German ladies; they were unpractised in hawking or hunting. The courage and activity of the British princess astonished her own sex, and delighted the other.

Chap. VI.

The publication of the private papers of the Prince of Anhalt, under the title of "Secreta Principis Anhaltis Cancellaria," (printed in 1621,) was unquestionably intended to excuse the rigour, and justify the tyranny, of the Emperor Ferdinand, who was resolved to criminate the prince and traduce the party over which he had lately triumphed. Of the unfairness of the representation contained in this work, and of its invidious object, there can be but one sentiment. There is sufficient evidence that the Chiefs of the Union corresponded with the principal directors of Bohemia, and that Count Albinus Schlick, if not so

prominent a personage as Count Thurm, was even more strenuous, and equally efficient in accelerating the revolution. At the present day it is not a little curious to observe with what ingenious perversion the compilers of those Anhaltine papers have worked up their materials into a regular systematic usurpation of the Catholic religion; and it is worthy of remark, that their accusations are levelled against the astute, overreaching spirit of Calvinism, politically passing over the Lutherans in silence, although it was notorious that Count Schlick belonged to their communion.

Among the more heavy charges adduced against Frederic, it is pretended that he aspired to the imperial sceptre; an accusation for which there is no other authority than the visionary fancies of certain self-elected prophets, and their fanatical partizans. Another serious imputation is, that he had authorized a mission to the Porte, and that the principles of Calvinism had been disseminated to the Seraglio. That the agents of Calvinism had been active in propagating their opinions, is not to be denied; but Frederic had no participation in their labours, and, certainly, never compromised the integrity of his Christian principles: nor should it be ascribed to his ambition that certain fanatics of his sect flattered themselves they were about to extend their triumphs to the Mahometan realms of Europe. With regard to another charge, on which great stress is laid by the calumnious editors of the Anhaltine papers, namely, that Frederic had concluded a treaty with Bethlem Gabor, it is equally futile and unjust, since the Emperor himself never scrupled to negociate with that suspicious, but most important

potentate; and Frederic had every possible inducement to cultivate his friendship.

From these papers, and from other documents preserved in the national archives, it appears that the majority of Frederic's counsellors, including his chancellor, Camerarius, and his chamberlain, Schomberg, decidedly voted for his acceptance of the Bohemian crown. One of the circumstances mentioned throws light on the subsequent correspondence of Frederic and Elizabeth. It was recommended by the elder counsellors that the young Queen should be sent to her father, James, to solicit his powerful support in maintaining Bohemia against the Emperor. It will hereafter appear, that the celerity of the Duke of Bavaria's movements precluded Elizabeth from making this effort, which her own personal situation must have rendered perilous. There is a passage in the letter written to her father after the battle of Prague, which seems to imply she had previously anticipated some proposition for a separation from her husband, since she peremptorily declares she will never quit him, and that, if he is to perish, she will perish also.

In dismissing the subject of the Anhaltine papers, it may not be improper to add, that a masterly vindication of Frederic was published by his secretary, Rusdorf, afterwards his ambassador in England, under the title of the "Cancellaria Bavariæ;" an account of which is given by Harte in his Life of Gustavus Adolphus.

The Patriotisches Archives of Moser, referred to in Chapter VI., contain many important official docu-

ments, which throw considerable light on the manner in which Frederic accepted the crown of Bohemia. It appears that there were two parties even in the Palatine family; the one supported by the Electress Dowager Juliana and her son-in-law, the late administrator, the Duke de Deuxponts; the other headed by Camerarius, Schomberg, and Elizabeth, with which Frederic himself secretly co-operated. Frederic had no sooner been apprized of his election, than he dispatched messengers to Saxony, Bavaria, and England, whilst he hastened to meet the princes at Rottenbourg; and, that no time might be lost, the council was assembled at Heidelberg, when the matter was debated *pro* and *con*. The advocates for his election contended, that he ought to embrace the overture for the sake of religion, and because, having married a king's daughter, it was proper he should invest her with a crown; and it was even urged, that King James might with reason feel surprise and resentment at his rejection of that honour which was tendered to his acceptance.

In spite of this rhetoric, the adverse party, which recommended delay, was evidently the strongest; when Schomberg, believing that every thing depended on promptitude, announced that the Palsgrave was himself impressed with the conviction, that his election was a vocation from God, to which he was not justified in offering resistance. This declaration silenced opposition, and the election was instantly confirmed. Previous to this transaction, it is said the Palsgrave had written to his consort for her opinion, which she gave in the following words:—"If you really believe and

" feel that you have a vocation from God, to aid the " people of Bohemia, then, doubtless, you should com- " mit yourself to his providence, by whom are all " things pre-ordained and directed. If such be your " conviction, I am willing to abide by the consequences, " whatsoever they shall be, even to part from my last " jewels, if need thereof should be, without murmur " or repentance."

In the original are marked Elizabeth's *own* words. It is also stated, that on hearing the final decision of the council, the Electress-dowager took the affair so much to heart, that she became sick, and even took to her bed, believing all was lost. Much of the foregoing statement is corroborated in the Theatre of Europe; the same work contains several particulars respecting the coronation of Ferdinand, at which was displayed little of the splendour usually exhibited for the pretended successor of the Cesars. The Elector of Saxony stood on his left hand; but the other pillar of the empire, the Elector Palatine, was wanting. After he had received the crown, it was observed to totter: circumstances, in reality, arising from the confusion produced by the absence of those princes, who, according to established usage, should have been his auxiliaries and supporters. It appears that Ferdinand spoke favourably to the deputies, and affected to take a moderate tone in religion. He rode on horseback, under a magnificent canopy, and afterwards dined in public with the princes of the empire. According to Sir Henry Wotton, who saw him shortly after, he was easy of access, affable to strangers, and ready to welcome intelligent foreigners to his table.

Chap. VII.

According to the statistical statements of modern writers, Bohemia must have declined in population since the thirty-years' war. In a German work, published in 1794, intituled Ausfuhrliche Nachrichten, the sum total of inhabitants is estimated at two millions seven hundred persons. The population of Prague, exclusive of its military, is stated at 77,000, of whom 8000 are Jews. "The number of houses is but 3191; "but many of these are of vast dimensions, and a con- "siderable space is occupied by convents, churches, "cemeteries, public edifices, royal palaces, and the "spacious gardens which are interposed between "them. The position of Prague is admirably fitted "for commerce; but it exhibits the extremes of mean- "ness and magnificence. The view from the bridge," says one of their national writers, "is glorious, and "never can the eye be wearied that wanders from the "colossal arches to the castellated walls of the old "or lesser Prague, to the beautiful park, the stupen- "dous palace, that crowns the summit of the white "hill, so memorable in the history of Frederic; but, "above all, lovely and glorious is the living picture, "reflected by the waters of the Moldau, of towers and "battlements, intermingled with forest trees, and ve- "nerable spires, simultaneously illuminated with the "crimson rays of the departing sun."

At the era of Frederic's election the nobles formed a numerous part of the community; they were divided

into six orders; namely, dukes, princes, counts, barons, knights, and gentlemen, of whom the last outnumbered all the other classes, forming an elementary body of nobility, from which its dignitaries were created. Previous to the thirty-years' war, these gentlemen, by right of birth, might claim at the assembly of the States a certain state or rank, with all its appropriate privileges; but the superior activity and intelligence which this poorer order of nobles had manifested during the revolution, determined Ferdinand the Second to deprive them of a privilege from which they had hitherto derived so much importance. From this period they were found to decline in energy and talent, and finally dwindled into a class of poor gentlemen, completely servile and insignificant. It is proper to remark, that the title of even the higher order of hereditary nobles was superseded by that of the *Bourgrave*, which was derived exclusively from the civil and military functions attached to the office. Thus the infant Prince Rupert was carried to church in the arms of the Ouer or Arch-Bourgravine, the chief lady in the kingdom for birth and alliance, but whose consort was the first Bourgrave of Prague. The Lord Marshal was next in rank to the Bourgrave, who was considered as the representative of the old popular nobles, such as claimed precedence in the primitive days of their dukes, when the title of king was unknown. In the honours paid to the Bourgrave was implied a compliment to the traditionary prejudices of the people. Prior to the era of Ferdinand Bohemia had produced many learned men, the most able jesuits and tenacious reformers sprung

from this country. Here, also, arose that father of modern prophets, the singularly original Joseph Behmen, who was a native of Upper Lusatia, born in 1577 of poor and illiterate parents, by whom he was brought up in such ignorance that, till he had attained his twentieth year, he had not even learned to read. Behmen's first and last studies were the Scriptures: it is even pretended that, when his Aurora was published (in 1610), he had never looked into any other volume than the Bible; but it is evident, from the language of that fantastical work, that he had been addicted to the writings of astrologers and alchemists, whose crabbed jargon was strangely amalgamated with his own mystical absurdities. At the period of Frederic's arrival in Bohemia, mystics and seers were become familiar. The harp of prophecy vibrates spontaneously in seasons of national commotion. A few years after, the same spirit was afloat in Britain, where superstition and fanaticism equally abounded; but where it was powerfully counteracted by the spirit of commerce, the industry, energy, and intelligence derived from civil and municipal institutions.

The character of Bethlem Gabor, so differently represented by contemporary writers, is sufficiently illustrated by the history of Frederic. In policy or subtilty, this chief was inferior to none of his contemporaries; but was, perhaps, afterwards surpassed by Cromwell. His acquisitions in learning have been overrated by Harte, since it appears, from the Ambassades d'Angouleme, that he had but a smattering of Latin, and knew only his mother tongue: he was

fond of theological disquisitions: either felt or affected vehement zeal for Calvinism; yet was sufficiently rational to tolerate persons of another faith. He had frequent correspondence with the Porte; and, shortly after Frederic's coronation, concluded a treaty with the reigning Sultan, by whom he was addressed in the following singular style: "I, Sultan Soliman, by the "grace of God, Emperor of the Turks, swear by "the Almighty, by him who is holy in his might, and "mightiest in his holiness, by the immensity of his "powers in the universe, by the sun, by the moon, by "the stars, by this earth, and the shadows of earth, by "the eye-brows of her who bore me, by the bread that "sustaineth me, by the sword of my right hand, by all "my faculties of body and soul, by the holiest Maho-"met, by all the symbols of beatitudes and omnipo-"tence, that I acknowledge thee my brother, thee, "my son, even thee, Bethlem Gabor, to be King of "Hungary, whom I never will forsake in the hour of "need; and I devote myself, and my state, and my "power, to thy defence; so that, though I should be "left, peradventure, with but two or four Turks to up-"hold this crown, even with these few will I not shrink "from the vow I have vowed, or draw back from the "pledge I have given, to protect thee and thine, and "to further thy designs, whatsoever they shall be. "If I forfeit this pledge, let the wrath of God light "on my head; let me be utterly destroyed and blot-"ted out; let the eternal transmute this body to stone; "let the earth open wide its jaws to swallow me from "sight, so as that there shall be neither vestige nor

" record of me or my armies among the sons of men.—
" *From our Imperial Court at Constantinople, Novem-*
" *ber*, 1619."

In the account of Elizabeth's reception, the Author omitted to mention a book no less remarkable, and still more rare, than the quarto journal published at Heidelberg in 1613, and which contains a minute detail of all the pageantry displayed by the good town of Frankenthal in honour of their sovereign lady: but the most striking passage in this work is a French sonnet addressed to Frederic, which intimates the general expectation that he was destined to ascend a regal or even an imperial throne. At the entrance of the first triumphal arch through which the royal couple passed stood a young boy, elegantly attired, who saluted them with the following lines:—

" Te puissions nous voir, ô prince valeureux,
Les cheveux tout grisons estre pere et grand pere
De tres nobles enfans, qui nous soyent pere, et mere,
Et du peuple Germain, Empereurs bien heureux.
Te puissions nous voir, ô prince vertueux,
Vivre bien longuement, et exempt de impropere
A l'empire Germain les ordonnances faire
Suyvant de les ayeuls, les pas victorieux.

" Te puissions nous voir, ô prince magnanime
Tenir de fiers Romains, l'universel regime,
Et tout peuple marcher dessous les estandars.
Te puissions nous voir, ô prince debonnaire,
A l'antechrist Romain rendre le droit salaire,
Et nous faire en tel cas devoir des vieux soldats."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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